

# THE TEMPLES OF SOLI

STUDIES ON CYPRIOTE ART DURING  
HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

BY

ALFRED WESTHOLM



THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION  
STOCKHOLM





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# P R E F A C E

**T**he temples and finds examined in this volume belong to periods of Cyprus history, of which we have but a scanty knowledge. In scientific literature, the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been neglected even more than earlier epochs of Cyprus history, and the works edited have often been more confusing, than contributing to the right interpretation of matters. This is first of all due to the lack of fixed points of the chronology. No serious attempt has been made to establish such a chronology and to distinguish the various periods into which this long era ought to be divided. Such an attempt would be doomed to be a failure unless the chronology were based upon material excavated scientifically. Of primary importance is the question of the pottery of the Cypro-Hellenistic and Cypro-Roman epochs, which still remains practically unknown. This pottery must be classified by means of sealed tomb-groups, in the same way as has been done in regard to the earlier periods, thanks to the activity of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. As soon as this result is obtained, and the pottery can be used as the foundation for the chronology, it will be possible to fix the chronology also for other groups of objects. The attempt to classify this kind of pottery made in this volume, does not pretend to be definite. It is nothing but an attempt based on the material of Soli. For a real classification a much larger material is needed also from other sites and, especially, stratigraphical evidence combined with a series of sealed tomb-groups.

As regards sculpture, the conditions are similar. The chronology is extremely uncertain. It may be possible to draw the very rough outlines of the development, but grave objections must be raised even against the most recent determinations based on more or less reasonable iconographical grounds. The rather sketchy technique which characterizes most of the Cypro-Hellenistic sculptures makes it necessary to be very chary in identifying the various types. As during earlier periods, various local schools have existed side by side, and before these have been definitely distinguished, the details of the chronology cannot be cleared up. This will be done, however, in Vol. IV of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*. As regards the Cypriote sculptures of the Roman epoch, only few have been brought to light, and here the temple-site of Soli offers the most important material.

In consideration of these great difficulties in classifying a partly new and strange material, I have been anxious to separate descriptions, classifications and analyses of architecture and finds from all discussions of the relations of the material to foreign countries, and referred these latter to a subsequent chapter. When — the sooner the better — the chapter on the foreign relations has been elucidated by fresh material brought to light by future examinations, and, consequently, lost something of its significance as the sole foundation for the knowledge of these periods, the descriptive and analytical chapters, I hope, will maintain their importance as objective investigations.

It must be pointed out here that this volume contains only questions dealing with the *history of art*. All discussions of questions connected with the *history of religion*, are omitted here. For this part of the material reference is given to Vol. IV of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* in which this rather extensive chapter will be taken up for a thorough discussion in connexion with other religious conditions of late Antiquity of Cyprus. I am quite aware of the dangers of such a division of the material, as it is many times impossible to separate the history of art and the history of religion. The arrangement, however, has proved to be practical in many cases and the lack of space in this volume has to be added to this cause.

The inscriptions will be discussed in an Appendix to Vol. III of the same publication, in which also the descriptions of the temples will be reprinted.

The chapter on the sculptures was originally written as a larger study on Alexandrine art of sculpture in general, but this article had through lack of space to be restricted to those parts which were directly connected with the material from Soli. The papers on Alexandrine sculpture will be published separately. — The results of the Soli excavations have already been recorded in two preliminary reports: One, containing some notes on the sculpture finds, in *Corolla Archaeologica Principi Hereditario Regni Sueciae Gustavo Adolpho dedicata*, Lund 1932, p. 172. The second report constitutes a study on Cypriote temple architecture, *The Paphian temple of Aphrodite and its relation to Oriental architecture*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, Copenhagen 1933, p. 200. In the course of my work new discoveries have made me change some of the opinions expressed in these preliminary reports. It is needless to point out that the altered views in this volume are based upon repeated and careful examinations. The reader will find certain differences as regards the analytical plans of the preliminary reports, and this volume. The corrections were made after a second examination of the monuments on the site, in 1933—1934. It has also been found necessary to make some alterations in the grouping of the sculpture finds. Thus, it has been possible to determine more in detail the place of some of the sculptures and to distinguish subdivisions of the sculptures ascribed to Styles I and II. This was a result of studies in the Alexandrine, and other museums of North Africa, undertaken in 1934, with financial assistance from the *Längmanska Kulturfonden*. The preparation of the publication of the sculpture finds from Mersinaki has also contributed towards determining my view of the Cypro-Hellenistic sculptures. In the following pages many references are made to the article on the Mersinaki sculptures, which will be published in Vol. III of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*.



For the measurements, the same principles have been adopted as in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*: The measurements of walls, etc., given at the head of each description refer to their maximum measurements, in order to give the reader a general idea of their size. For measurements in detail the reader is referred to the plans. On the sections, the levels are given in decimetres and centimetres from an arbitrary datum called 100. In the Object Register every find is described, and at the end of each description the size of the object is given in centimetres, its weight, when stated, in grams; and by indicating the room and the layer in which it was found, both its horizontal and vertical position is fixed.

I wish to express my sincere and humble gratitude to H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden for his keen interest in the temple-site, and for his efforts to get it examined. Without the personal activity of the Crown Prince the temples would not have been excavated. Permission for the work in Cyprus was most readily granted by Sir Ronald Storrs, at that time Governor, and by the authorities of Cyprus. I also wish to thank Mr. J. L. Bruce, Director of the mines of the Cyprus Mine Corporation at Skouriotissa, for his ready courtesy in placing waggons and rails at our disposal for the excavation. Furthermore, I am greatly indebted to my colleagues in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Messrs. E. Sjöqvist and J. Lindros, for their stimulating cooperation, but most of all to the leader of the Expedition, Dr. E. Gjerstad, who originally aroused my archaeological interest in the Antiquity of Cyprus, and who, ever since the beginning of the Expedition's work, has been the most excellent leader and friend. It is needless to say how far our archaeological discussions during ten years of almost daily correspondence have promoted the work in general. Without the archaeological experience obtained during the previous years of work for the expedition, it would have been impossible for me to clear up the complicated architectural conditions in Soli. I also wish to thank Dr. Gjerstad for his great generosity in placing at my disposal all the material of the Expedition, both scientific, and in the form of maps, autotypes and phototypes, as well as for his permission to copy the publication canon, established for the work, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*. I have also derived benefit from the various members of the staff of the Expedition in Stockholm. Thus, Mr. B. Millberg has made the reconstructed sketches, and the analytical plans, and furthermore, clean-drawings of all the plans with the exception of Plans I—II, which were copied by Mr. Lindros. Mr. Tooulis Svidos has mended many of the sculptures and terracotta lamps that had been found in pieces. Miss M. Sjöqvist, Miss G. Roberg, and Miss M. Hallberg have rendered good assistance in typing the MSS., and Miss Hallberg has also prepared the Index and arranged the collotype plates for printing. Mrs. E. Hesse has assisted in reading most of the proofs. I also wish to say my heartiest thanks to two English ladies for a troublesome and importunate work; to Miss J. du Plat Taylor for reading the MSS. and to Miss K. Kenyon for reading the proofs. Apart from all the necessary corrections of the English MSS., both these ladies have contributed to the work with valuable notes of their own archaeological experience from Cyprus and Samaria. Some of the coins have been deciphered by Mr. N. Rasmusson. Dr. C. Bosch has kindly determined the coin No. 308, which is of great importance for the chronology. Dr. N. Zenzén has examined some stone samples

of the materials used for the sculptures. The main results of this examination are given in the Appendix. Professor J. Brøndsted, Copenhagen, has kindly let me use the line engravings for Figs. 75—80; 83—87; 89—90, originally made for the article in *Acta Archaeologica*.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor J. Roosval, who has conducted my studies and, who has always by his great interest in my work encouraged me to further efforts. The reader will certainly note how far his suggestive view of the development of the history of art during the transitional periods from late Antiquity to early Christianity has influenced the following pages. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. E. Kjellberg and Dr. H. P. L'Orange for their courtesy in discussing with me the sculpture finds from Soli on sundry occasions.

Finally I wish to thank my father, Dr A. Westholm, for his never-ceasing interest in my studies and for all the profit I have gained from his profound and all-round knowledge. I gratefully acknowledge valuable assistance also from many others who cannot be mentioned here.



*To My Parents*





# I N T R O D U C T I O N

When the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, in 1927, started work in the island, the site of ancient Soli was chosen for one of the Expedition's two excavation fronts. It is a fact well known to almost every Cypriote, that the thousands of tombs robbed by the peasants in this part of the island have yielded a great number of precious objects, which later have been sold to private dealers. The aim of the Expedition, however, was not to investigate the necropolis with its treasures, but to try to excavate some of the most important buildings of the city and to determine the general lines of the town plan. The *cavea* of the theatre could clearly be distinguished in the ground. Remnants of other buildings, partly of later date were visible in the fields over almost the whole area of the ancient city. But the most desirable object for excavation seemed to be the temple of Isis and Aphrodite, mentioned by Strabo. Renewed hope of finding the site of this temple had been entertained a short time before the arrival of the Expedition; for a large marble slab with carved battle scenes — apparently a part of a frieze — had been found accidentally in a field near the shore in the gardens of Ibrahim. A few days of excavation at the spot, however, showed that the slab was brought from elsewhere and re-used as a building stone in a Byzantine house, the foundations of which were cleared. This start, however, stimulated to further trial diggings but the result of these was for a very long time disappointing as regards the temples. Many of the fields were trenched over but nothing was found which could be identified with the temple mentioned. Though valuable for studies on the topography of the ancient city, and therefore not in vain, the trial diggings were stopped when the excavations of the theatre were finished, and we had to move for a new start up at Vouni.

Shortly afterwards, in the summer 1928 the finding of a stone sphinx down in Soli was reported to me. On my arrival at the place I found the sphinx still *in situ* lying on top of a rubble wall which was partly uncovered. Apparently the sphinx had been used as a building stone in the wall. The sphinx was removed to the museum. Later on other finds of stone sculptures were heard of, but in spite of the most careful investigations among the peasants, nothing but a very coarse stone head was brought to me (Pls. XVII, 5 and XX, 6).

Until June 1930 there was no opportunity for further examinations of the field where the sculptures were said to have been found by the peasants, but then a small trial digging was started. The site is situated outside the boundary of the ancient city proper, west of a small river which comes from the mountains above the village of Galini. Some 100 m. west of the bridge over this river, the path up to Galini leaves the main road. At first it follows a small theatre-like valley which opens towards Karavostasi (Figs. 2 and 3). The path runs on the right bank of a rill at the bottom of the valley, and on the opposite slope a trench was dug through the field close to the spot where the sphinx had been found. A great many walls were trenched over, apparently belonging to a rectilinear system of rooms and buildings. The potsherds brought to light were all of Cypro-Hellenistic and Cypro-Roman date but nothing which could explain the buildings was found in the trench. In order to get some more material, a few trial pits were dug at the sides of it, and in one of them some stone heads and fragments of large statues of quite a new, and strange type were found. The pit was enlarged and the comparatively well preserved foundations of two rooms were uncovered. The investigations undertaken, however, had clearly shown that an entire excavation of the whole site would be far beyond the economic resources of the Expedition, which by that time had been excavating for three years. In consequence of this, the site had to be abandoned for a time in spite of the hopes we now entertained that finally the temple of Aphrodite and Isis had been traced.

In October 1930, H.R.H. the Crown Prince visited Cyprus. Thanks to the keen interest which the Crown Prince took in the new discoveries at Soli and to the amiable courtesy of H. E. Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus, an agreement with the Cypriote authorities was drawn up, to the effect that the expenses for the excavations were shared between the Expedition and the Cyprus Museum; all the finds made in the course of the excavations were to be handed afterwards to the museum without any division. The excavation was begun in November 1930, in spite of the approaching winter, and carried on to the end of February, 1931.



# SOLI

Field Plan

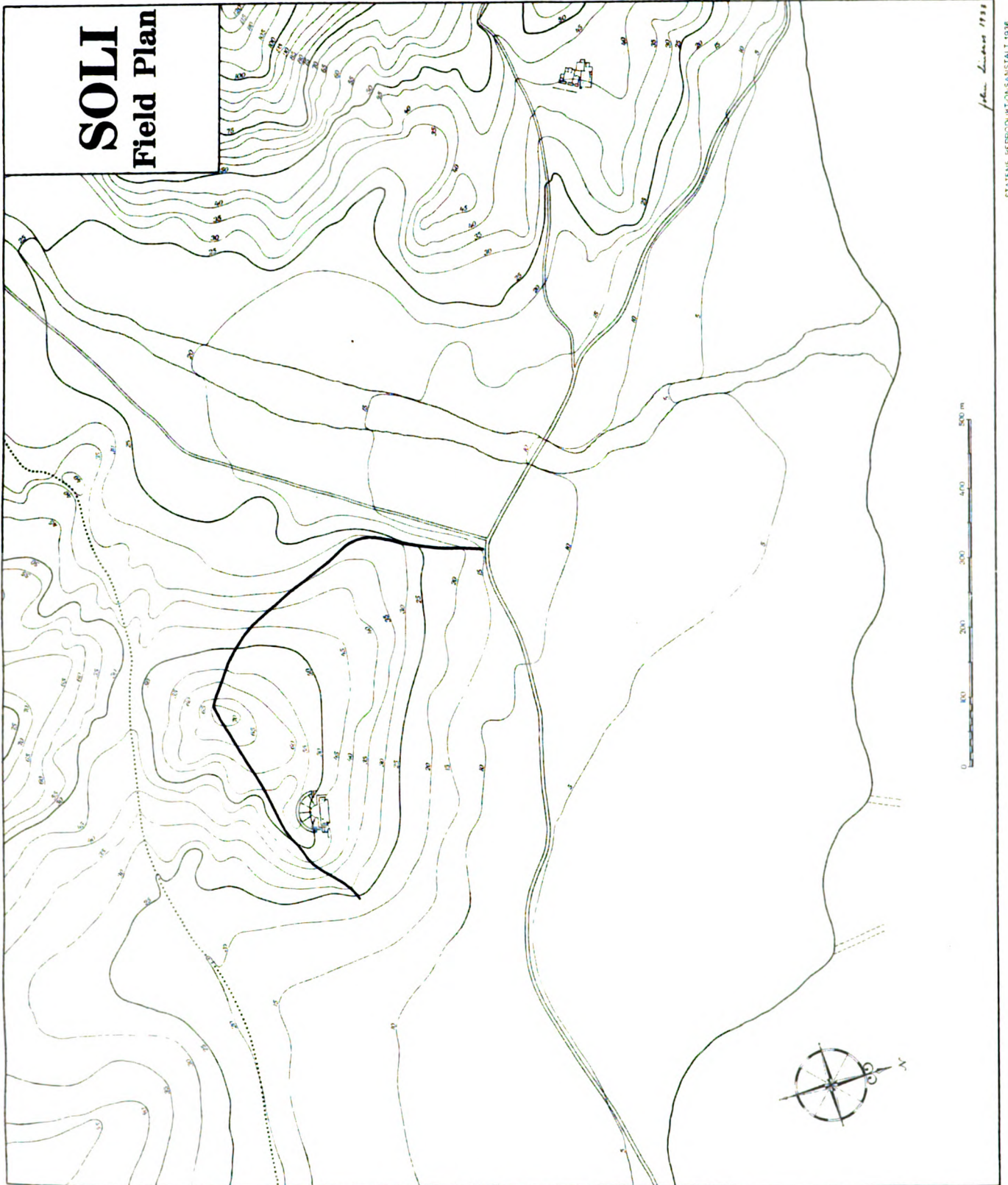








Fig. 1. Soli. View of the valley of the Kambos river.

# T E M P L E S O F S O L I

## TOPOGRAPHY (Plan I)

Soli was situated on one of the small hills in the region where the plain of Mesaorea, which occupies the centre of Cyprus, between the Kyrenia range and the Troodos mountains, is transformed into low hills before the high mountains of western Cyprus. The plain reaches to the foot of the acropolis hill of the city with a narrow strip along the bay of Morphou. Only some hundred metres west of the city a rocky ridge of the mountains reaches right down to the sea, thus abruptly terminating the plain of Mesaorea. In a southerly direction, there are two distinctly marked valleys which conveniently connect the plain with rich and fertile regions higher up in the Troodos mountains. The easternmost of these begins in the district now called Marathasa, passes through the village Lefka and the district of the copper mines, already used in ancient times and opens into the plain a couple of miles east of Soli. The river of the other valley (Fig. 1) has its source not far from





Fig. 2. Soli. View from Cholades of the acropolis hill. The western city gate lies just above the large olive tree in the middle of the figure.

the monastery of Kykkho, passes through the village of Kambos and falls into the sea, west of the city, but almost within its area (Fig. 2). The situation of the town thus seems to be extremely good and have various advantages: to the north the sea and a good harbour, in fact the only good winter-harbour on the whole of the north coast; to the east the large cultivated plain, to the south almost up to the town, the most valuable copper district of the island, and further, convenient communications with rich, cultivated sites in the mountains, by means of two river valleys leading almost to the summit.

A traveller, who rides to the west along the coast will find that, on leaving the plain of Soli, the landscape suddenly changes entirely. There is a real rocky screen, which separates the Soli area from the next valley. It hangs over the sea with an absolutely vertical slope in the side of which, for long distances, the modern road has been excavated. In ancient times it must have been impossible to pass where the modern road runs in our day. As a matter of fact, there are traces of another path, running parallel to the shore about 300 metres from it over lower passages on the ridge. There is no other possibility but that the road in ancient times ran on about the same line, as it was impossible to get through along the shore. The contrast between the wide level plain, east of Soli, and the rocky, wild landscape with its steepes and gorges everywhere in this region west of the city, is apparent. The hills are, however, for a short distance interrupted by the valley of Mersinaki, which, close to the sea forms a triangular plain. Further to the west, the wildness of the country becomes still more exaggerated, especially on the slopes around Vouni. The modern road follows a small brook, which runs almost parallel to the shore





Fig. 3. Soli. Cholades with excavated temples.



Fig. 4. Soli. View of the excavations.



south of Vouni, and this way was probably used in ancient times, too, as it leads up to the only pass over the next ridge which is a continuation of the mountain of Vouni. But, evidently, there must have been another road, too, in ancient times, near the shore.

From the top of Vouni there is a very steep slope down to an abyss hanging over the sea. Only at very low water, is it possible to pass along the beach below the vertical wall of this gorge. From the plain of Mersinaki, however, there is a path up to the back of Vouni where the great entrance to the precincts of the palace has been cleared. On this side of the mountain, the main road was situated between the palace of Vouni and the town of Soli during the palace period. From the eastern side of Vouni the ancient road can be traced straight across the slope now called Loures, and down on the western side where it is continued by the path down to the site of Paradisiotissa, a small narrow valley watered by two rills. On the sides of the valley a great many caves and tombs are situated, and between the rills at the bottom a small temple was cleared. But it seems to be possible to trace the path further to the west. Not far from the sea, it runs through the wild and steep country down to the plain or valley of Limnitis. On many sites along this path there are at present remnants of ancient houses, and the pottery found on the surface shows that these houses were in use at the same time as, or slightly later than the Vouni palace. Whether the route along the modern road from Vouni down to Limnitis was used also in ancient times or not, remains uncertain. The route described here seems to have been the ordinary communication between Limnitis and Soli. Limnitis, of course, was an important place in ancient times and the communications between this valley and Soli have been carefully traced here as they will prove to play a certain role for further discussion.

As to the topography of the city itself many conclusions can be drawn from the site itself and from the remnants preserved above the surface of the ground. The precinct of the town proper is comparatively well defined on all sides by the foundations of the city walls, which pass over the summit of the acropolis hill at a height of 70 m. To the east, the wall can be traced on the edge of the hill down to a point about 100 m. east of the theatre. There the wall disappears under ground but most likely it runs almost straight down to the sea. As a matter of fact, a large heap of huge ashlar blocks probably indicate the position of a gate through the wall. It is situated at a height of 10 m. above sea level, some 100 m. south of the road which runs across the area of the city. Probably, the city wall was continued by the eastern breakwater of the harbour which at low water is clearly to be distinguished. The western arm of the breakwater is also traceable as a line of large, badly corroded limestone blocks in the sea. Between these arms was the entrance to the ancient harbour, which now has silted up almost entirely. The circular shape of it, however, can still be seen as a low depression in the garden belonging to Ibrahim.

But we return to the summit of the acropolis hill in order to trace also the western part of the city wall. Here it is clearly visible on the surface. It runs in north-westerly direction down to a point about 200 m. south-west of the road mentioned above, where it follows the edge of the river bed almost to the modern road. Near the middle of this last portion of the wall, a gate through it was noted (Fig. 2). The western face of the wall is here rather

high as it also serves as a protection against the river, which sometimes comes up to the city wall. As great damage would have been caused to the cultivated field above, the gate was never entirely cleared, but no doubt we there see the western entrance to the city. Possibly there was a bridge over the river in connexion with this gate. It is thus possible to trace the very start of the road from Soli to Limnitis at this western gate through the city wall, whence it was continued by a passage — probably a bridge — over the river, and further up along the valley on the western bank, through the same valley which has previously been described in connexion with the finding of the stone sphinx, on the place called Cholades.\*

The continuation of the city wall north of the main road, remains uncertain. There is, however, nothing which speaks against the suggestion that it followed the river bank to the sea. No traces of a city wall can be seen along the sea. Of course one would not expect the sea wall along the present beach, but at some distance from it. In general there is not much to be seen above ground in these fields north of the main road.

As regards the town planning there is much to be done yet. Only a rough sketch of the distribution of the main buildings was obtained during the diggings for the temple of Isis and Aphrodite, and only rarely it proved to be possible to determine the various foundations trenched over on several occasions. When starting on the summit it could be ascertained that the very top plateau had been surrounded by a strong wall of about the same construction as the city wall. As far as could be stated, the entrance to this enclosed area had been situated on the north side, where some *poros* blocks, possibly the threshold, were found. Within this area the foundations of a *templum in antis* were cleared. Apparently the wall enclosed the *temenos* with the temple on the very top of the hill.

Further to the north, there is a wide terrace almost horizontal, which terminates roughly along the 50-metre line on the field map. North of the *temenos* gate this terrace was crossed by a trench about 100 m. long. A great many walls, all belonging to the same rectilinear building system were cleared in the trench, some of them being preserved to considerable height. The suggestion may be right that we here have traced the royal palace. The position of the palace in Soli would in such case, correspond very well to that at Vouni, where the palace was constructed on the first wide terrace below the *temenos* of Athena on the top. As the pottery found in this trench shows, the palace of Soli must have been of contemporary, or later date than the palace of Vouni. East of this palace building the theatre is

\* The name *Χολιάδες* has proved to be difficult to explain: *ἡ Χολίς, -έδος* occurs in ancient Greek and the plural *Χολιάδες* is used in the same meaning as *ἐντέρα*, bowels, guts (Il. 4.526; 21.181). At Plin. (37.18) it has the meaning of a kind of smaragdus which might have been of Cypriote origin. Hesych mentions a Dionysus feast called *Χολίς*. Neither of these might explain the present name of the place with certainty. In Byzantine Greek *Χολίς* has the same meaning as *κόλλος* (cf. the Arabic *kohl* and the hebrew כֹּהֵל). In E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge 1914, it is described as a dark pigment with which women blackened the edges of their eyelids. In modern Cypriote the word *Χολίς* is usually known in the somewhat corrupted form *Χολιά*, the plural form of which is *Χολιάδες*; cf. *μπογιά*, plural *μπογιάδες*, colour, paint. In modern Cyprus, the pigment is used not by the grown-up women but for paintings around the eyes of babies at certain occasions. Perhaps the ceremony of painting was connected with the locality in some way, or is the name simply explained by the numerous fragments of painted stucco which are found all over the ground? There are many names of places in Cyprus which must be explained in a similar way, such as *γιάσιρες*, *γιάσιρα* or *γιάσιρικα*, which all are caused by ancient pottery fragments visible on the ground.

situated with its semi-circular back wall not far from the city-wall on this side. Below the terrace with these two monumental buildings the ground slopes rather steeply towards the sea. A great many walls and ruins are visible on the surface and the innumerable building stones and potsherds spread out over the whole surface show that the building activity once was concentrated to this part of the city. Severe damage to these houses was done, when the modern road was laid out, in 1912. The foundations for the road were entirely taken from walls in these fields, and one of the foremen during this work told me that the labourers, once having found a wall with suitable stones, carried on destroying it until none of them was left. For a length of more than 100 m. they were allowed to despoil entirely an ancient street paved with large limestone slabs. Marble columns were also found and cut into pieces. On the same occasion the present bridge over the river west of the city area was built entirely of stones taken away from the theatre. But this destruction of the ruins, preserved until comparatively recent times, had started long before. Cesnola tells us that stones already before his time were loaded on ships and exported to Asia Minor and Egypt, especially when the Suez canal was built.

Statues were said to have been found in a field belonging to a certain Sophia. Here a trench was dug and a large building partly uncovered. The purpose of the building remains uncertain. Probably it should be explained as a portico. It had a concrete floor and column bases at equal distances from each other. In the filling some fragments of a marble frieze were found, which probably should be dated to the Cypro-Hellenistic period.

Another shaft was dug just inside the western gate of the city wall described above. Not far from this site the marble statue representing the nude Aphrodite, now in the Cyprus Museum (Pl. XXXII, 4), was said to have been found. In spite of extensive diggings to the rock, which was found at a considerable depth, no remains of buildings or walls were found here. On carrying on the excavations further to the east, the remains of a house with a rough mosaic floor with ornamental designs was uncovered.

North of the modern road, between this and the sea, there are, too, remains of important buildings though they seem to be of a rather late date. Bricks have often been used for the constructions there. This is especially noted as regards a vaulted building, now almost hidden in the earth. These fields have yielded some Cypro-Roman capitals of marble still kept in the gardens. At a place called Monastiraki, close to the river bank a large and comparatively well preserved portico with marble columns was traced when searching for the Isis and Aphrodite temple. It was, however, never entirely excavated. Further to the east the harbour was situated. It has already been mentioned.

Certainly the town of Soli has changed very much from time to time. The earliest potsherds found in the trenches belong to Cypro-Archaic I—II periods, but they are very few in comparison with the dense heaps of Cypro-Hellenistic and Cypro-Roman sherds which, in certain localities, constituted almost the whole filling. The Cypro-Archaic sherds were found in the trenches on the top and the palace terrace exclusively, while no such pottery was found north of the road. Most likely the acropolis hill proper was first inhabited. Later on when the town grew larger the area between the hill and the sea was taken in



for building activities. Certainly the old part of the town on the summit was many times repaired and rebuilt, which could be ascertained from the theatre. In ancient literature there are also records of destructions and rebuildings, to which I will return.

A few words may be said about the necropoleis of this town. The tombs are spread over an enormous area, around almost the whole town. Where-ever the rock is near the surface, caves have been excavated. Thousands of them have been opened by modern tomb-robbers, who in almost every case spoiled the pottery contents and the interior of the tombs. By studying the sherds found in these robbed tombs, however, there still exists a possibility dating them and thus ascribing different groups of tombs within the area to various epochs. Thus, Mr. Markides examined some of the oldest tombs found around Soli and brought the contents to the museum. Most of the pottery from these tombs can be dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period. The tombs examined are situated on a low hill south-east of the acropolis. Cypro-Classical and Cypro-Hellenistic I tombs have been found west of the city on the other side of the river. Many of the most precious objects of various kinds are said to have been found in these tombs, and they seem to have been robbed almost to the last one. A beautiful, built tomb of Amathus type was destroyed, the ashlar taken away and used in the foundations of the road, as mentioned above. Close to the road a tomb was opened which contained a treasure of gold coins from the time of Alexander. The coins were all sold to a dealer in Lefka. The pottery from the tombs on this area points to the same period, 4th and 3rd Cent. B.C. This necropolis is of special interest as the temples described below have been constructed among the tombs of a burial ground which was still in use. — The Cypro-Roman tombs are situated south and south-west of the acropolis on the slopes of the hills there. The necropolis, however, extends almost uninterrupted far away to the villages of Ambelikou and Lefka, the latter situated four miles from Soli. It will not be discussed here what troubles and difficulties, the protection of these vast areas against tomb-robbers means to the Government.

#### NOTES ON SOME ANCIENT RECORDS OF SOLI

As the history of Soli, from the point of view of the ancient literature, has been the subject of repeated scientific investigations, only the most significant outlines of it will be indicated here. For a more detailed study on Soli reference is given to Engel's brilliant study on Cyprus, written in 1841, but which still remains up to date in most particulars.<sup>1</sup> Another compilation of the ancient records is given by Meursius<sup>2</sup>, who has laid stress however on the Paphos problems of the island. More recent studies on the history of the island are found in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft* in which the Cyprus articles are written by E. Oberhummer, who personally visited Cyprus and Soli. His article about Soli especially will prove to contain all the most important records as for the history and topography of the city, which are to be found in ancient literature.

1. Engel, W., *Kypros I—II*, Berlin 1841.

2. Meursius, *Creta, Cyprus et Rhodos*, Amsterdam 1675.

Though not a town of a very great importance Soli is mentioned several times in ancient literature. According to Plutarch<sup>3</sup>, the earliest town, called Aipeia, was situated elsewhere. This town was founded on a wild mountain by Demophon, son of Theseus and brother of Akamas. The name Soli<sup>4</sup> is connected with Solon's visit to Cyprus and Philocyprus, king of Aipeia. Solon advised the king to move the city down to the plain. Philocyprus did so and called the new settlement, after his friend, Soli. According to Strabo<sup>5</sup> the city was founded by two Athenians, Phalerus who also is called the grandson of Erechteus, and Akamas. Soli, however, is mentioned already in the lists of cities of Esarhaddon (681—668 B. C.) and Asurbanipal (668—628 B. C.) where the name occurs as Si-il-lu.<sup>6</sup>

Soli seems always to have been one of the most Greek cities of the island and during the revolt against the Persians in 498 B. C. the king of Soli, Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus, was killed in the battle on the plain of Salamis. The city itself, however, sustained for five months the siege of the Persians, and was finally captured since all the city walls had been undermined.<sup>7</sup> Most likely immediately after this event the palace of Vouni was built as a stronghold against the Greek elements in this part of the island. After this time, there are but few records of the town in the literature. A couple of kings are known, probably living in the fourth century.<sup>8</sup> At the time of Alexander the Great, however, the role of Soli in the history of Cyprus is still important. Some names of the royal family can be connected with Alexander himself. As a matter of fact Soli at this time seems to have been the most important city of the island next after Salamis, which still preserved its supremacy since the glorious epoch of Euagoras. The Greek kings of Cyprus assisted Alexander actively during the siege of Tyre and some of them accompanied him on his way to the east. The kings of Salamis and Soli paid the expenses for the choruses when celebrating the capture of Tyre.<sup>9</sup> The king of Soli was then called Pasicrates. His son, Nicocles, was one of the leaders of the Cypriote fleet which was used by Alexander on his expedition to Indus.<sup>10</sup> Among other Cypriote generals who accompanied Alexander was Stasanor from Soli,<sup>11</sup> possibly a brother of the above mentioned Pasicrates.<sup>12</sup> He was later on made governor of Aria where he remained also after the death of Alexander.<sup>13</sup> The last king of Soli was called Eunostos, who may have been of the same family as the others. He was married to Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter, and Oberhummer<sup>14</sup> remarks that, as her mother was the famous hetair Taïs with whom Soter came into contact after the death of Alexander, their marriage cannot have taken place before the year 307 B. C. Most likely, therefore, Eunostos ought to have ruled

3. Plutarch, *Sol.*, 26.

4. For the different kinds of writings, see Oberhummer, E., in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, article *Soloi*.

5. Strabo, XIV, 683.

6. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, München 1903, p. 12 ff.

7. Herodot, V, 110—115.

8. Engel, *Kypros* I, p. 297.

9. Plutarch, *Alex.* 29.

10. Arrian, *Indian Exp.*, C. 18.

11. Strabo, XIV, 683.

12. Engel, *Kypros* I, p. 357.

13. Strabo, XIV, 683; Diodor, XVIII, 3.

14. Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, article *Eunostos*.

his city independently even into the third century, while the other kingdoms of Cyprus, were incorporated with Egypt under a special governor more than ten years. During the Ptolemaic period little is known of Soli. Certainly a close contact between Soli and Ptolemaic Egypt was established already during the reign of Eunostos. This is but natural in consideration to the personal relationship between the ruling families. In reality, Eunostos, though formally independent, constituted one of the best fixed points for the diplomacy of Soter in Cyprus during this rather dangerous period. That this contact between Alexandria and the region of Soli was kept during the reign of Philadelphus, too, is confirmed by the inscription No. 740, found in Mersinaki,<sup>15</sup> on which the names of Philadelphus and Arsinoe are mentioned. It will later on be argued that this break of the old tradition of royal independence of the city and the change of the cultural orientation towards the new powerful kingdom of Egypt, also meant a decided change in the history of art. This can be ascertained especially as regards the sculpture, concerning which the change is marked, not only by new stylistical aims, but also in the way that new materials were preferred.

From the period of the later Ptolemies there are few records of Soli. The name is mentioned in the geographical lists of Ptolemy.<sup>16</sup> Strabo, who travelled along the west coast of Cyprus about 20 B. C. gives the following particulars about the town<sup>17</sup>:

εἴτα Σόλοι πόλις, λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ποταμὸν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἰσίδος· κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Φαλήρου καὶ Ἀκάμαντος Ἀθηναίων· οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες Σόλιοι καλοῦνται· ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Στασάνωρ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐταίρων ἀνὴρ ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένος· ἐπέχειται δ' ἐν μεσογαίᾳ Λιμενία πόλις·

In spite of these very summary records the description will prove to be of a very great value when identifying the temples described on the following pages. We have already written about Stasanor and his role in the Indian expedition of Alexander the great. Engel<sup>18</sup> has thoroughly dealt with the question of Phalerus and Akamas as the founders of Soli (cf. above). For the first time in the literature we are confronted with some topographical particulars. The city had a harbour. The bay of Morphou is well sheltered against the east winds usually blowing during the winter.<sup>19</sup> The situation of the harbour, still recognizable in the ground, has been described above. It remains uncertain whether the river, mentioned by Strabo, refers to the Kambos river, or to the Xeropotamus, east of the town. As the latter, however, runs at a distance of at least half a mile from the city area, I feel inclined to suppose, that the Kambos river should be the one which was present to Strabo's mind. The record of the temple of Aphrodite and Isis is extremely interesting as it is the first building which is quoted as to the Soli topography. It might be right to search for the situation of the temple in the vicinity of the river mentioned before. After the notes about Soli, Strabo mentions the town of Limenia which he places inland. Oberhummer,<sup>20</sup> however, has already pointed out that this must be a mistake of Strabo. The city mentioned was

15. Cf. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* III, Stockholm 1936, article *Mersinaki* (forthcoming).

16. Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa. *Realenz.*, article *Soloi*.

17. Strabo, XIV, 683.

18. Engel, *Kypros* I, p. 217 ff.

19. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, p. 203.

20. Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, article *Limenia*.

situated at the sea and must have possessed a harbour, which also the name of the town indicates. No doubt Oberhummer is right in locating the city on a small plain at the shore, 6 km. west of Soli, at present called Limnitis (hence Petra tou Limniti<sup>21</sup>). Limenia is recorded twice in the literature, in connexion with embarkation<sup>22</sup> and disembarkation.<sup>23</sup> At modern Limnitis, some archaeological researches have been made<sup>24</sup> and quite a lot of antiquities of various kinds have been brought to light from time to time by the peasants, most of the objects dating from the Cypro-Roman period.

Limenia or Limne is also recorded in the *Acta Auxibii*<sup>25</sup> and there we obtain some very interesting descriptions of the topography, which for the following discussion will prove to be of such a great interest that the Acts may be cited here in the parts they refer to the monuments dealt with on the following pages. The Acts cannot have been written earlier than the fourth century A. D. in view of the presence of certain names of localities,<sup>26</sup> but the author says that he follows an earlier MS. As a matter of fact, there are many particulars and details in the text indicating that the author was well acquainted with the local conditions and the topography of the place. The Acts are preserved in two MSS<sup>27</sup> and were edited in Latin not before the year 1560.<sup>28</sup> Auxibius is said to have lived in Soli for 50 years and as he met St. Mark, who travelled with St. Barnabas, about the year 52 A. D., in Limenia at his arrival in the island, he is supposed to have died in 102 or 103 A. D.<sup>29</sup> His tomb in Soli, still intact at the time of the conception of the Acts, was visited by many pilgrims.

Auxibius was a Roman who left the capital in order to avoid a marriage. Here follow his further adventures as they are described in the Acts:

### § 3

— — — Cum autem Roma solvissent, post dies aliquot Rhodum pervenere: indeque in mare, quod Pamphyliam alluit, trajicientes, Cyprum tenuerunt, et in pagum, qui Limne, id est Palus, dicitur, appulsi sunt, quarto ab Solorum urbe lapide, divina B. Auxibium, ad multarum salutem animarum ducente providentia. Nam egressus, Limnae moratus est, quo se ex navigatione recrearet qua valde jactatus, et fatigatus fuerat.

### § 5

Hic cum alter in alterum incidisset, Marcus Auxibium, Qua ex urbe oriundus esset, interrogavit. Auxibius vero, Ex magna, inquit, urbe Roma, propterea quod factus sim

21. Cf. *The Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, I, p. 1.

22. *Acta Sanctorum*, De S. Auxibio § 3.

23. *Acta Sanctorum*, De S. Barnabae § 25.

24. J. H. S. XI, 1890, p. 88.

25. *Acta Aux.* § 3, Limne vicus: 'Εν πόλει τινὶ καλουμένῃ Λιμνῇ *Hervetus legit λιμένι vertit enim, in vico qui vocabatur Portus. Paullo post λιμνίτην vocat, vel pagum ipsum vel tractum circumjectum. Λιμνίτην τῷ Λιμνίτη.*

26. E. g., Constantia.

27. The two MSS are the *Parisin.* No. 1452, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis*, Paris 1896, No. 1452, 26, Fol. 153—159, translated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, febr. III, p. 124—128, and the *Vindobon.*, *Hist. Gr. XI*; cf. Lambeck-Kollar, *Commentariorum*. L. VIII, p. 151; Lipomani, A., *Tomus quintus vitarum sanctorum patrum*, fol. 563—573.

28. Lipomani, A., *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae*, Venice 1551—60, p. 569—573.

29. Baudrillart, A., *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* V, Paris 1931, p. 958.



Christianus, huc veni. At Apostolus videns eum Christi teneri desiderio, fidelemque esse ac facundum, eundem probe instructum, et veritatem ex Dei verbo edoctum, descendens ad fontem baptizavit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: baptizato manus imponens, Spiritum sanctum ei contulit: cumque eundem ordinasset Episcopum, et modum promulgandi Christi Evangelii edocuisset, ad Soliorum urbem hisce mandatis et verbis instructum misit. Siquidem ea civitas est idolorum cultui dedita, Deique nondum suscepit eloquia, sed in tenebris versatur idololatriae: quod tibi dico, id tu praesta. Nullus modo Christianum esse te noverit, sed ipsorum te superstitionem sectari simula: progressu vero temporis incipe occulte ipsis tamquam infantibus disserere, sermone eos tamquam lacte nutriens, donec perfecti facti, perfecti fiant alimentum participes. Cum haec atque his plura Auxibio dixisset Apostolus, eundem complexus in pace dimisit. Ac Marcus quidem navem nactus Ægyptiacam, ea consensa Alexandriam navigatione pervenit: ubi Evangelistae functus munere, quae ad regnum Dei spectant edocuit.

## CAPUT II

## § 6

## S. AUXIBII EPISCOPATUS, PRAEDICATIO.

Ex Limnete autem profectus B. Auxibius percunctandoque iter faciens, Solos pervenit. Erat vero vicinum portis civitatis, qua parte occasum spectat, templum Jovis Dei nomen mentientis: in quo flamen dialis habitabat. Illac autem transeuntem B. Auxibium conspicatus Jovis sacerdos, tamquam peregrinum domi suae excepit sane perbenigne, eique mensam apposuit. Mansit igitur apud eum totam illam diem, postera vero, Unde, et cæcus gratia eo venisset, sciscitatus est sacrificulus. At Auxibius, Romanus sum, inquit, coactusque in Palaestinam vela facere, in Limnete exscensionem feci: et percunctando edoctus gratam esse urbis hujus habitationem, huc me contuli, in eaque jucunde admodum habito. Verum si facis mecum misericordiam, maneam apud te, donec locum, ubi habitem, reperiam. Hic ille, Mane, inquit, sanus et incolumis. Mansit igitur eo loco qui Jovis nuncupatur, multo tempore, non significans se Christianum esse, quin potius fingens ipsorum se superstitionum sectari, itaque secum ipse disserens: Si enim diabolus transfigurat se in Angelum lucis, ut eos, qui ipsi credunt, ad se pertrahat, et orationis blanditiis copiaque verborum a luce ad tenebras transferat, ut et ipsius ministri factitant; quanto magis debemus ipsi nos transfigurare in homines iisdem obnoxios affectibus, ut eos a potestate tenebrarum, et diaboli abducamus, et in admirabile lumen agnitionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii Dei transferamus?

## § 7

Haec secum ipse cogitans et faciens Dei famulus Auxibius praedicto in loco mansit. Paucis autem diebus evolutis, flaminem hisce verbis compellavit: Est quod dicam tibi, Frater. Age, dic, inquit ille. At Auxibius, Quid ist, ait, cur Deos colatis, qui lapides et ligna sunt? Os enim habentes non loquuntur, oculos habentes non vident, et aures habentes non

audiunt, neque oblatum sibi sacrificium olfaciunt. Quem vero colunt Christiani, is demum, ut ab iis accepi, verus est Deus: atque, ut audio, virtutes multas operatus est. Haec sacerdos cum audisset, Auxibii verbis compunctus est, nec idolis sacrificabat amplius: sed deinceps a B. Auxibio instruebatur. Hac ratione ad multum tempus se gessit, urbem occulte ingrediens, et secreto docens, ac rursus recedens, et exiens extra civitatem, in praedicto Jovis loco manebat.

If we follow the text strictly, the following particulars can be gathered as to the topography of the places mentioned. Limne was situated at the fourth mile post from Soli, that makes 5.9 km. or almost exactly the distance from Soli to the present Limnitis. Hence, Auxibius went in the direction of the town, rested several times and arrived via (*transeuntem*) the temple of Jupiter at Soli. The temple was situated near the western gate of the city, and that it really was outside the town is clearly set out in § 7, where it is ascertained that Auxibius was the priest's guest, stayed outside the town and hence went into it and back again when teaching Christianity. The reference to sculptures in the temple will also prove to be of great interest as this temple will be identified with one of the excavated constructions. It may be noted that Barnabas embarks at Limenia and not in Soli, which was the chief town on the west coast, and Auxibius, too, has landed not in Soli but in Limenia. Oberhummer remarks that the town is mentioned as ἀλλίμενος<sup>30</sup> and that the harbour of Soli seems gradually to have silted up. Possibly the harbour of Soli, mentioned by Strabo had to be replaced by that of Limenia. Under such conditions it is but natural that the city gradually began to lose its importance. As a matter of fact, there are very few places suitable for a harbour in the vicinity of Soli. The low, sandy coast to the north-east may have suffered from the same bad conditions as the shore just around the town; and on the rocky coast to the north-west, there are only two possible sites: Mersinaki and Limnitis. Mersinaki might have been used to some extent for smaller ships, but the narrow valley was certainly not big enough to receive a population which must be connected with a harbour. It seems, therefore, quite natural that the port of Limenia took over the marine trade of Soli when the harbour of that town could no longer be used. The advantages of the position of Soli were based upon two very weighty presumptions: the vicinity of the copper mines and the vicinity of the sea and the harbour. If the latter began to silt up and the inhabitants were forced to search for a new harbour, the alterations must have meant a severe blow to the commercial life of the town. But this seems not to have taken place during the first century A. D. Galen, the great physician of the second century, who visited the copper mines of Soli in 166 A. D. has thoroughly described the seething life in the mines of Soli which were operated by the Imperial Government, the supervisor being appointed by the emperor himself.<sup>31</sup> J. Walsh<sup>32</sup> has come to the conclusions that the operation of these mines ceased about 400 A. D. when a series of severe misfortunes devastated the island for a long time. It seems hard to believe that the harbour of Soli was spoilt so soon after the visit of Strabo,

30. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, article *Soloi*.

31. *Galen Opera Omnia*, Leipzig 1821, XX 238.

32. Walsh, J., in *The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia*, XXV, 3, p. 93.

that it could not have been used in the year 52 A. D. when Auxibius and the Apostle Mark found each other in Limenia. The only explanation, therefore, seems to be that the history of Auxibius, written in the present form, not earlier than the fourth century, was connected with the local circumstances which actually were present and known at the time of the author and not at the time of Auxibius. Evidently, the author was well acquainted with the town and its surroundings, and, as Soli, in his time, had no harbour, he made Auxibius land in Limenia, the harbour of which was known by the author as being used by the Solians, too. If we are right in these conclusions the quotation of the temple of Jupiter located to the vicinity of the western gate, consequently, may refer to a temple which was still in use, or, in any case, was still remembered when the *Acta Auxibii* were written, in the fourth century. Below, it will be demonstrated by finds and otherwise that there really existed a temple of this kind outside the town, close to the western gate as late as during the Constantine period.

Cesnola, on his visit to Soli<sup>33</sup>, found on the slope of the acropolis hill a much injured inscription which may be mentioned here<sup>34</sup>. It is now stored in the Cyprus Museum, but in 1888 Hogarth saw the slab as threshold in a store in Karavostasi. It is a votary inscription who tells that Apollonius consacrated an enclosure and a monument. It may be noted that Hogarth has corrected Cesnola's reading of the inscription so that the word *Παμύρ-ελλα*<sup>35</sup> has been eliminated. The chief interest with this inscription is that it is dated to the time of proconsul Paulus who, no doubt, is the Sergius Paulus mentioned in the Acts of Apostles in connexion with St. Paul's first visit to Cyprus in 45 A. D.<sup>36</sup>

During the Christian era Soli is recorded several times. The above mentioned Auxibius was the first bishop of the town. After him came Auxibius II<sup>37</sup> and Themistagoras, the brother of Auxibius I. At some of the early Christian councils Soli was repeatedly represented by bishops. At the end of the thirteenth century the capital of the bishopric was changed to the new capital of the island, Nicosia, because in 1340 we know of Leontius of Solia, bishop of Nicosia.<sup>38</sup> Shortly after this, the town itself must have ceased to exist. Lusignan mentions the place only as Casal Solia.<sup>39</sup>

Most likely, however, the importance of the city had gone long before the Mediaeval Age. The real cause of this decadence may have been the above mentioned silting up of the harbour and the coast and, furthermore, that the copper mines no more were operated.

The view that Soli fell into ruins comparatively early is confirmed by the fact that the remnants never called for any special attention of later travellers. R. Pockocke<sup>40</sup> visited the ruins and his description of the place may be mentioned, as he takes up the problem of the temple of Isis and Aphrodite recorded by Strabo. On the acropolis slope, Pockocke found

33. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs and temples*, London 1877, p. 229 and 425.

34. Cf. Hogarth, D. G., *Devia Cypria*, London 1889, p. 114.

35. Cf. Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, article *Soloi*.

36. Acts of Apostles XIII, 7.

37. Lipomanus, *op. cit.*, p. 572; *Acta Sanct.*, Febr. III, p. 130.

38. Hachett, J., *History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901, p. 323.

39. Lusignan, Fr., *Chorographia et breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro*, Bologna 1573. p. 86.

40. Description of the East, II, 2, London 1745, p. 223.

some remains of a rather important building above earth, which he, consequently, identifies with the only antique building he knew of, the temple mentioned by Strabo. It is needless to say that nothing exists which makes his suggestion acceptable. To judge from his description of the monument, it may have been a gate or a portico. Whether this construction belongs to the same one, which Cesnola mentions, remains uncertain<sup>41</sup>. These foundations consisted of a circular building constructed of huge blocks of limestone. Below the building, a cave was situated. In the area of this ruin, Cesnola found the Paulus-inscription (cf. above) and a female marble statuette. As no traces of the circular building can now be found within the area of the ancient city it is impossible to assign Cesnola's ruins to any certain part of it. The ruins had already disappeared when Hogarth visited the site in 1888.<sup>42</sup>

## ARCHITECTURE (Plan II)

### MATERIAL AND CONSTRUCTION.

All the walls within the area excavated are constructed of rubble, most of which were taken from the river-bed below the site. Some of the blocks had been roughly cut in order to fit into the wall. The rubble blocks are of various kind: some are white in colour and very hard, consisting of hard limestone. This kind of stone is not to be found in the local rock of Soli. Most likely the blocks have been brought from elsewhere by the river. These white limestone blocks are but rarely rounded, which, however, is the case with the heavy, black stones which most frequently occur in the walls. These are of a kind of stone very similar to basalt and are also to be found in the river bed. They are very well rounded off, usually oval in shape. In the walls, a great many ashlar blocks were found but they are all to be explained as coming from other buildings and re-used here. Their place in the walls was accidental, and as could be observed, they were never used according to a definite principle in order to strengthen a certain part of the wall, or something similar. At some entrances and stairs, the ashlar were used as thresholds and steps, and also in the altars. Sometimes traces of removed ashlar on the foundations of the stairs were noted which seems to indicate that ashlar blocks had been used more frequently than the preserved architectural remnants could show. The ashlar blocks consisted of a hard, white limestone which contained petrified shells. The occasional finds of statues, or pieces of sculptures in the walls are explained, too, in the same way as the ashlar blocks. They are fragments of old statues, smashed and damaged and now simply re-used as building stone. In some of the walls and altars fragments of roofing tiles and bricks were used. These walls on other grounds could all be ascribed to a comparatively late period, e. g. Walls 38—41 and Altar 147.

The mortar used for keeping the stones together in the walls is of two different kinds: the usual one used in most of the walls consists of white or bluish-grey plaster which sometimes becomes very hard in consistency. The same plaster seems to have been used

41. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus etc.*, p. 229.

42. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

















for the revetment of those parts of the walls which were visible above ground. The revetment varies as to its consistency; sometimes it is very carefully applied with a smoothed surface, in some cases decorated with paintings as on Walls 20, 23, 24 A and B, 88, 109—111, etc. On other walls the plaster revetment was of the same hard consistency, but not so carefully smoothed as on Walls 67—69. The plaster revetment never extended below the floor-level. Sometimes, as the floor could be determined in no other way, these clearly marked edges of the plaster were extremely important for the analysis of the architecture. Often, especially on walls which on other grounds could be determined as comparatively late, the plaster revetment was very soft and had almost entirely fallen off the walls, or did so a short time after uncovering them. This holds good for Walls 123 and 124. Another somewhat harder plaster revetment was found on the inside of the walls enclosing Rooms XVI—XVIII. This was of the same kind as was found on the southern face of Walls 19 and 20.

The second kind of mortar was entirely used for holding the stones together. It was rather like modern cement, grey in colour and very hard. In comparison with the concrete, described below, it was fine grained and did not contain pebbles, though the consistency otherwise was similar. Curiously enough this peculiar kind of mortar which was easily distinguished from all the others was found only in a few walls: Nos. 21 (a small part just above the filled-up tomb below the wall), 24 B, 38—40. Possibly the suggestion may be right that the walls mentioned were built or repaired contemporarily.

The water-conduit, No. 167, and the cisterns, Nos. 168—170, were constructed of a core of small stones on which a concrete was laid out. The concrete consisted of grey mortar mixed with pebbles. It was very hard and solid, and in consequence of this extremely well preserved from the beginning, west of Wall 86, to a few metres above Cistern 169. The conduit had been covered with flat slabs of the local soft rock. The slabs partly remained *in situ*.

Wood seems to have been used on various occasions. Most likely all the doors were of wood. The same material was also used for flooring, at least at one occasion: as is shown by Sections XIII and XIV there was a floor of thick, wooden beams along Wall 89. Walls 101 and 102 are substructures for the same floor. The wood proper, naturally, had decayed, but the gypsum by means of which the beams were fixed together was preserved and showed their exact places.

As to the construction of the walls it must be said that in general they were very loosely fixed together. Very often the walls were only distinguished from the surrounding loose stones by means of the most careful excavation. This holds good especially concerning the walls which had lost their plaster revetment, or which never had one. Mainly the walls were built up of the rubble which had been laid in comparatively level courses. It is but natural that the construction of the walls changed in accordance with their task: walls built for keeping up a terrace, or as a facing against the vertically cut rock edge thus have only one side level and carefully laid. The foundation walls usually are wider than the upper walls; other walls are still narrower if they have nothing heavy to support. As to the construction the following two main types of rubble walls are distinguished:



A. The usual walls with more or less even courses of rubble blocks running through the whole wall without any break. In these walls the mortar or plaster is found equally in the wall. As a rule, the stones of these walls are very well fixed together.

B. The second type of walls are constructed fundamentally in an other way. At equal distances there are very solid, square pillars, built from the bottom to the top of the wall, which are constructed of rubble and plenty of hard, white plaster. These pillars occupy the whole width of the walls and constitute a kind of very characteristic skeleton for the walls. They are never bonded with the portions of the wall which run between the pillars. Those are, as a rule, usually very loosely kept together with little, or, sometimes without any mortar at all. The whole strength of the wall depends entirely on the solid pillars which, as the preserved remains showed, fulfilled their function extremely well. This type of walls occurs both in cases where the wall was founded on the solid rock and when it rested on a layer of earth.

The construction of the altars are similar to that of the walls. Only in Rooms XXXIV and XXXV the altars were built of carefully hewn ashlar blocks of the same kind of stone as the ashlar in thresholds and stairs of the same rooms. Other altars were constructed of small rubble, loosely kept together by gypsum or plaster. The core of the altars consisted of loose blocks. The outside of the altars were probably always covered by a revetment of plaster. In some cases especially on Altar 146 the plaster was smeared on the surface in several layers which were easily distinguished from each other. Usually the altars were built on a base of solid rock which extended a little higher than the surrounding floor levelled in the rock. The construction of Altar 149 remains uncertain. Possibly it consisted of a stone table.

The floors were always difficult to define on account of their vague appearance. In cases where the rock had been levelled for the floor it could easily be followed. Cavities and sloping portions were often filled up etc., but usually there were no real floors of concrete, stone slabs or similar substantial materials. The floors many times were simply marked by a thin layer of plaster or stamped earth. Other floors were recognized as a faint change of colour in the earth. In some cases it was even absolutely impossible to find any traces of a floor which, however, for other reasons must have existed at a certain level. This made the excavation extremely difficult, and always one ought to be chary of using the evidence. Of special interest is the flooring of the courtyard, Room XXIX, where masses of *chavara* was spread out as a floor. This was so hard packed that it had become very similar to the natural rock. Only by means of excavations, and the pottery found mixed with the stuff, could it be ascertained that it was artificial. The possibility exists that wood often was used for flooring though it could be ascertained only once (above Walls 101 and 102). A study of the sections described below will give the best idea of the various floors.

#### WALL PAINTING

Several walls had been decorated with mural paintings. The paint was applied on the stucco-revetment, which for that purpose was carefully smoothed. The paintings were

found on Walls 11, 20, 23, 24 B, in Rooms XLV and XLVI. Owing to the destruction of the walls, only small parts of the paintings were preserved *in situ* and most of them were found on fragments of stucco, fallen on the floor close to the walls. Only in Room X the paintings were more completely preserved so that the entire pattern could be studied. All the other walls, however, seem to have been decorated in the same way: vertical and horizontal lines in red, blue or black and green, forming a pattern of large squares. The lines are drawn with great precision, strictly straight. They are about 1.0 cm. wide. In Room XLVI fragments with wide, red bands, too, were found.

Walls 23 and 24 B in Room X were decorated in a somewhat different way. On Wall 24 B, the paintings were only preserved close to the floor, but these remains showed that the wall had been decorated in the same way as Wall 23. Here the paintings were preserved to a height of 1.30 m. Close to the floor there was a frieze (about 0.25 m. high) of net-work painted in black and red with a very crude technique. The lozenges were irregular and the lines were only occasionally straight. Apparently this part of the wall had been decorated without a preceding sketch of the patterns. The net-work was separated from the upper decoration by a horizontal, black line, running from Wall 24 B to Wall 20, about 0.28 m. from the floor. Above the horizontal line there was another net pattern which had been designed with incised lines in the stucco. This net-work also painted in black and red, was comparatively regular. In most of the lozenges, red apples were painted. Unfortunately the upper part of the wall was not preserved (Plan VII, 5).

#### ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

##### W a l l s

##### *Walls 1—2.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.00 m.

The walls are built of rounded rubble varying in size from 0.25—0.40 m. No mortar is used for fixing the stones together. The walls are founded on the rock and seem not to be connected with other walls within the area excavated. As they are placed in a depression in the rock, they may be explained as remains from some houses earlier than the temples described below. The walls are bonded to each other. (Fig. 16).

##### *Wall 3.*

Height: 1.15 m.

This short piece of wall is of the same construction as the preceding walls. The E. end is carefully finished as a door-post. The W. part of the wall is cut off by a foundation for Wall 32.

##### *Wall 4.*

Width: 0.48 m. Height: 1.00 m.

This wall is of the same construction as Walls 1—2. It was founded on the solid rock in the same depression as the walls mentioned. To the S. E. the wall extends out of this de-



Fig. 5. Soli. *Cella*, Room V, of Temples A and B, from the east.



Fig. 6. Soli. *Cella*, Room V, of Temples A and B, from the west.

pression, where it is built into a ditch-like cavity in the rock. The wall is partly destroyed and levelled to the rock and partly below it. To the N., the wall turns at right angles to the E., but of this second wall, only a piece made a part of another house dating from the same time as Walls 1—2.

*Walls 5—6—7—8.*

Width: 0.50—0.60 m. Height: 1.00 m.

These walls are of a very solid construction and built of dark river-stones, or rubble mixed with various white limestones and held together with gypsum mortar. At the angles and in the middle of the walls there are very solid pillars built of hard gypsum mortar. These pillars give the walls a substantial character. The walls are founded on the rock and sunk in trenches excavated in the rock. Wall 5, which is preserved to a height of 1.0 m. is covered by a hard gypsum revetment on both faces. A similar revetment is also preserved on Walls 6 and 8, but only on the interior faces towards Room V; the heights of these walls diminish to the E. Through Wall 7 there was a door, of which only a part of the threshold is preserved. The walls are not bonded with walls other than Wall 9 (cf. below), where some bonding stones are to be seen on the S. face. The doorway was made in the middle of the wall. Only a fragment of the threshold is now preserved at the N. side of the doorway. This consists of a flat stone in which is a square pivot hole. (Figs. 5 and 6).

*Wall 9.*

Width: 0.52 m. Height: 0.20 m.

In the middle of the S. face of Wall 6, there is evidence that the wall once was bonded with another wall extending to the S. W. Here some bonding stones project out of the face-line breaking the gypsum revetment on the face. In line with these bonding stones a piece of wall is noticed, partly built over by Wall 45. This wall consists of a single layer of dark rubble lying on the rock. Apparently the rest of the wall had been destroyed intentionally in connexion with later alterations. On the same axis with this piece of wall and the bonding stones in Wall 6, a trench is excavated in the rock to a depth of approx. 0.75 m. The trench makes an angle to the E. straight down to Wall 10 B. Evidently the trench was made for a wall. Under such circumstances this wall must be connected with the piece of wall to the N. of Wall 45. It was possibly, too, connected with, or even bonded to Wall 10 B (cf. below) or some other wall in the same position. (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Soli. Room IX, with preserved fragments of Wall 9.



Fig. 8. Soli. Stair 159 and Altar 146.

#### Wall 10.

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 2.00 m.

This wall is built in two parts as facings for the rock in Rooms III—IV. It consists of two parts, slightly diverging from each other. The lower part (10A) was founded on a layer of *chavara*, and is built of dark, rounded rubble of ordinary size, mixed with white limestone, without mortar. The wall is bonded to Wall 54. As the angle was badly destroyed, it could not be ascertained if it is bonded to Wall 51, but probably that was the case, as no cut between the walls could be found. Possibly the wall once was higher and then connected with Wall 9. A similar facing wall, however, must have been necessary for the rock edge. The upper part (10B) is of a similar construction, but the stones are here rather loosely fixed together. The upper part is not bonded with other walls. (Fig. 44).

#### Wall 11.

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.25 m.

The wall makes an angle with the preceding wall and is a facing for the soft rock to the W. of the wall. It is of a rather solid construction and built of irregular rubble mixed with white limestone, held together with hard, white mortar. The E. end of the wall is strengthened by a short buttress containing larger rubble. Another low, supporting wall is built in front of the wall to the N. of the Stair 161. The face was once covered with a gypsum revetment, which has now partly disappeared. Behind the subsequently built Stair 161, however, this revetment was found well preserved. The wall is not bonded with the adjoining walls, and the cut between this wall and Wall 10 B is very well marked. There must have been a doorway through this wall above the stair, but of this nothing is preserved. Its threshold level should be at 130.0, which is the floor-level of Room XVI. (Fig. 45).

#### Wall 12.

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.30 m.

This is exactly of the same construction as the preceding wall. As the difference of rock-level above and below the wall is less than at Wall 11, it is now preserved to an insignificant height. Here, too, a short buttress is noticed at the S. end of the wall. The N. part of the





Fig. 9. Soli. Room XX, with row of column-bases.



Fig. 10. Soli. South-east corner of the courtyard, Room II.

wall seems to have been bonded to a wall which once extended towards the N.W. This wall (12 B), however, had been removed entirely, during later alterations. Between the Walls 11 and 12 A, there is a doorway 2.20 m. wide. It seems impossible to state whether it was closed by a door or not. No traces of a threshold, however, are to be seen in the rock floor. (Figs. 8 and 43).

#### *Wall 13.*

Width: 0.80 m. Height: 0.60 m.

It is a short facing wall for the rock floor of Room VII. This gives the character of the wall. The exterior face is rather solidly built with dark rubbles mixed with white limestones and kept together by hard gypsum mortar. The interior face, which abuts against the rock edge, is very loosely fixed together. The wall forms a right angle and faces the rock as far as Altar 146. (Fig. 8).

#### *Wall 14.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 0.40 m.

This wall consists of dark rubble mixed with small white limestone without mortar. The wall is severely damaged, and only preserved where the wall runs in the lower parts, or depressions of the rock. Apparently the higher parts of the wall were levelled by subsequent alterations, or by raising the site to the level of the rock. The E. part of the wall is comparatively well preserved, with the whole width of the wall still visible. The W. parts, on the contrary, are more uncertain. Here only rows of stones are still *in situ* in a line with the S. face of the wall. The wall disappears to the W. without any precise line. Probably it once was prolonged up to Wall 11. (Fig. 10).

#### *Wall 15.*

Width: 0.40 m. Height: 0.30 m.

This wall is of the same construction as the preceding, with which it is bonded. At the middle, the wall is strengthened by a buttress. (Fig. 10).





Fig. 11. Soli. Wall 18 with superimposed Wall 27.



Fig. 12. Soli. Stair 157 built over a rock-tomb.

*Wall 16.*

Width: 0.35 m. Height: 0.20 m.

It is of the same construction as Wall 15, with which it is bonded. It is bonded to Wall 17 also.

*Wall 17.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.25 m.

This wall is built as a facing for the crumbling rock and consists of rounded rubble mixed with fragments of lime-ashlar, the latter being placed at the exterior face. The wall is interrupted at the middle by the remains of Staircase 157 (cf. below), and seems once to have been prolonged for an uncertain distance.

*Wall 18.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 0.35 m.

This wall is of the same construction as Wall 14 to which it is parallel. It is founded on the rock, and built as a revetment against the rock, which to the N. is at a higher level. At the E. end, an exterior angle is found with a short fragment of another wall, possibly parallel to the Wall 15. The wall has partly been built over by Walls 27 and 28. Most probably the wall once was prolonged to the N. for an uncertain distance. This part was probably removed when the walls mentioned were built. The prolonged line of the wall would pass just over the joint of the Walls 12 and 23. (Fig. 11).

*Wall 19.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 1.25 m.

This wall is built on the solid rock, of dark rounded rubble and white limestone. Mortar does not seem to have been used for fixing the stones. The E. face, however, which is care-

fully built, is covered by a thick gypsum revetment, well preserved, especially on the lower parts. The W. face is very roughly built without a straight face. Probably this face was not intended to be seen, but covered with earth (cf. the back of Walls 88, 68, and 70). The wall is built in line with Wall 7 but it is not bonded with it. In front of these walls and partly covering their faces, there is a low piece of wall, which must be subsequent as the gypsum revetment of Wall 19 extends in behind the wall. The meaning of this wall, which is of the same character as Wall 19 seems to be uncertain. Possibly it can be connected with subsequent alterations to Staircase 158, up to Room V.

*Wall 20.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 1.70 m.

This wall constitutes a right angle with Wall 19 and is partly built as a revetment for the rock to the N. of the wall. It is of the same character as the preceding wall, but contains scanty remains of gypsum mortar. It has at the ends and at certain intervals along the wall, six square solidly built pillars containing fragments of ashlar held together with hard gypsum mortar. Only the south face is covered by a revetment, which extends down to the rock, even behind Walls 25 and 26. Near the E. end of Wall 26, some large fragments of statues were used as building stones. Just a little E. of Wall 25, there is a cut in the wall, which, W. of it has a more solid character than to the E. This E. part had its S. face covered by painted stucco, partly preserved behind Wall 26 (cf. below). The wall is bonded to Walls 19 and 21. A short projection on one of the supporting gypsum pillars just on the axis of Wall 23 seems to indicate that that wall was intended to be bonded to Wall 20, though, because of the pillar, there exists a cut between the walls. The Walls 25 and 26 were evidently added to the wall, covering its revetment. (Figs. 8 and 9).

*Wall 21.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 0.50 m.

The wall, which is bonded to Wall 20 is partly of the same character as the latter. It shows, however, certain dissimilarities probably owing to difficulties in bridging over a demolished rock-tomb below the middle of the wall. Just above this tomb, the wall is carelessly built and has very scanty remains of mortar. The N. end of the wall is more solidly built, and here two kinds of mortar are used: the usual kind of gypsum, to be seen especially in the two supporting pillars, and a second kind, dark in colour, and more like cement (cf. also Walls 38—40 and 24 where the same kind of mortar is used). Just S. of the rock-tomb, a door through the wall is noticed with one threshold stone preserved *in situ*. After an interval of about 1.50 m., there is a second door through the wall beside the first one. The piece of wall between the doors is built, with the second, dark kind of mortar. The wall runs to the S. between the two basins at the angle between this and next wall to which it is bonded. The lower basin is bonded to these walls but not with the higher one. (Fig. 12).

*Wall 22.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 2.00. m.

This wall is built as a revetment for the rock to the N. of the wall. The wall is, as far as could be stated, for the whole of its extent, founded on the rock and built of rubble of ordinary

size held together with white gypsum mortar. In some parts, however, ashlar are used for strengthening the wall. That is the case, close to the two basins at the E. end of the wall. The lower basin is bonded to the wall with three large ashlar. Near the middle of the wall, there is a vertical cut through the wall. As the building technique is of the same character on both sides of this cut, it seems to be of little importance. Another cut, on the contrary, is to be found 6.60 m. E. of the angle between Walls 52 and 22. Here the differences on both sides of the cut are evident. W. of it, the wall is very solidly built of larger rubble held together with hard gypsum mortar. The Substructure Wall No. 56 is rather rough and built without mortar; it is not founded on the rock just below the conduit as the rest of the wall, but on a layer of *chavara*. Higher up, however, the wall has a smooth face, covered with a gypsum facing at about the same level as the water-conduit, which passes through the wall in its W. end (cf. Fig. 20). Close to the cut mentioned, this W. part of the wall is strengthened by large ashlar, solidly held together with gypsum mortar. Only on the W. part, the wall is preserved to a higher level than the conduit, which follows the wall along its N. side. The conduit passes through the wall, and must have been built at the same time as the wall itself. Above the conduit the wall is clearly bonded with Wall 52. That is however, not the case with the Substructure Wall No. 56, which below the conduit abuts against Wall 51. Other adjoining walls, with the exception of Wall 21, abut, too, against Wall 22.

At level 116.8, there was a doorway through the wall into Room XXIII, the original width of which cannot be stated. To the S. of the wall, a flat stone was found in a horizontal position. This might have been part of the threshold, or a step for making the passage from Room XIX to Room XXIII more convenient. (Fig. 45).

#### *Wall 23.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 1.60 m.

It is solidly built on the rock with rubble of ordinary size. White gypsum mortar is used for fixing the stones together. The wall begins at one of the gypsum pillars in Wall 20 (cf. above), and a projection on this seems to show that the wall would have been bonded with Wall 20. The S. end is strengthened with two raised ashlar, on top of which another square ashlar is placed. Thus this part of the wall was clearly not bonded with Wall 12, but, on the contrary, it abuts against the exterior angle between Wall 12 A and B. Both sides of the wall are covered by a thick, soft revetment, white or yellow in colour, which has partly fallen from the upper parts of the wall. The revetment extends in behind two extra pillars built in the angles of Room X. (Concerning the wall paintings in this room cf. above. Figs. 8, 9, and 13; Plan VII, 5).

#### *Walls 24 A—B.*

Width: 24 A: 0.45 m.; 24 B: 0.40 m.

Height: „ : 0.75 m.; „ : 0.40 m.

These walls are built close together the one beside the other. 24 A is built of dark river-stones and white lime-rubble kept together by loose, white mortar. Another kind of mortar, too, is used similar to that used in the wall of Room XII and Wall 21. Fragments of roof-tile

are also used in the wall, which is covered by a revetment preserved on the N. face. The wall is bonded to a square pillar placed in the angle between Walls 24 A and 23. The revetment also covers that pillar, which is built partly of rubble, partly of square ashlar. This revetment of Wall 24 A is, however, hidden by Wall 24 B, (Figs. 8 and 13) which is built close to it. This wall consists of somewhat larger rubble mixed with plenty of tile-fragments and held together with gypsum mortar. The wall is not bonded with other walls. The N. face has a stucco facing which is painted in the same pattern as Wall 23. (Concerning the paintings, cf. above. Plan VII, 5).

*Wall 25.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.50 m.

This wall is of the same construction as Wall 24 A and bonded with the square pillar built in the angle between this wall and Wall 20. The facing of the walls has no paintings. The wall is not bonded with Walls 20 or 24 B, but certainly with Wall 24 A. Through the S. part a door is built, the threshold of which is preserved *in situ*. The width of the doorway is 1.40 m. (Fig. 9).

*Wall 26.*

Width: 0.42 m. Height: 0.50 m.

This is built of rather small rubble held together with gypsum mortar. The S. face is covered by a soft, yellow facing. The wall is founded on the rock, and is built close to Wall 20, partly covering its painted facing (cf. above). The wall might have been prolonged to the E., but, as the present end is strengthened by large raised ashlar, this seems not to be the case (cf. the end of Wall 28).

*Wall 27.*

Width: 0.48 m. Height: 0.50 m.

It is of the same construction as the preceding wall, though the revetment to a great extent has gone. Almost round rubble or river-stones are used. The wall is founded on the rock. The W. end is finished about 0.50 m. from Wall 26. The E. part is built upon Wall 18. It could not be ascertained how far its original extent in that direction was brought forward. (Fig. 9).

*Wall 28.*

Width: 0.42 m. Height: 0.50 m.

It is of the same construction as the preceding wall, though more white lime-rubble is used. It is founded on a layer of *chavara*. To the W., the wall surely was prolonged to an uncertain extent, though this part had been entirely removed. Here, however, it must have been founded on the rock. The E. part ends with a large pillar-like ashlar, as Wall 26. (Figs. 9 and 11).

*Wall 29.*

Width: 0.47 m. Height: 0.70 m.

This piece of wall consists of two long ashlar, with a short piece of rubble-wall between them. The ashlar are held to the rubble by a hard, white gypsum mortar. The wall is founded on loose earth containing plenty of *chavara*. The wall is not bonded to Wall 11. (Fig. 45).

*Wall 30.*

Width: 0.45 m.

It is a short piece of wall, nearly in line with the preceding wall, but quite different from it. It is built of rounded rubble held together with white gypsum mortar, and founded in a small depression of the rock. The W. face of the wall is well marked with larger rubble, but the E. face seems to be more uncertain. Possibly the wall once was wider. It may be explained as a base for a support of the same type as Nos. 31—33 (cf. below).

*Wall (base) 31.*

Width: 1.20 m.

This wall is of the same character as the preceding one. It is, however, not founded on the rock, but on a layer of earth. The S. face is indeed leaning against the edge of a deep depression in the rock. Because of that, it is still preserved *in situ*. The rest, however, was removed shortly after its uncovering. The original extent of the wall is indicated by a dotted line on the plan. Probably the wall can be explained as a base for a support.

*Wall (base) 32.*

Width: 1.30 m.

Apparently this wall has served a similar purpose. It is of the same character as the preceding wall, but it is founded on a large substructure wall, which has been built in the above mentioned depression in the rock. At the building of this substructure wall, which faces the rock, Wall 3 has been cut off. The substructure wall is of a solid character with the faces carefully built with larger rubble.

*Wall (base) 33.*

Width: 0.85 m.

Another base of a quite different kind is situated in line with the preceding bases, and to the E. of them. This base (Wall 33) consists of rubble, and roughly cut ashlar on the S. part, held together with white mortar. The base is partly built on the rock and partly on top of Wall 14, which here is only preserved to a slightly higher level than the rock.

As the walls 30—33 are all situated on the same axis and at about the same level they can be explained as bases for a row of pillars or columns. In that case, a base should have existed between Walls 32 and 33, which must have been removed (cf. the row of bases Nos. 34—37 along Walls 26—28. Fig. 9).

*Wall (base) 34.*

Width: 0.60 m.

This base is situated close to the steps which lead up to Room X. It is of the same construction as the preceding base partly built of ashlar, partly of rubble. It is founded on the rock.

*Wall (base) 35.*

Width: 0.50 m.

This consists of a square ashlar, based on some small rubble fixed with white mortar. The base is founded on loose earth, which makes the filling of a large depression in the rock. Probably the depression is the remains of a demolished tomb.





Fig. 13. Soli. Upper courtyard, Room VIII, of Temple B, from the north.

*Wall (base) 36.*

Width: 0.60 m.

This consists of small rubble fixed to a square base by white gypsum mortar. The base is founded on a layer of earth and *chavara*.

*Wall (base) 37.*

Width: 0.60 m.

It is of the same construction as Wall 35.

*Wall 38.*

Width: 0.55 m.

This wall has a rather weak character. It is built of small rounded rubble and white limestone held together with grey cement-like mortar (cf. a similar mortar in Walls 21 and 24 A). The W. face has a soft, yellow revetment. The wall is founded on loose earth at the comparatively high level off. 135.0. The wall abuts against Wall 8 but is bonded with Wall 39. (Fig. 43).

*Wall 39.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.60 m.

This wall is of the same character as Wall 38. Through the W. part there is a doorway, the remains of which consist of two pieces of the threshold-stone at level 142.5. To the W.

a square pivot-hole is noted. The width of the doorway is calculated to 1.90 m. This wall is bonded to Wall 40. (Fig. 43).

*Wall 40.*

Width: 0.40 m. Height: 0.80 m.

It is of the same construction as the two preceding walls. In this wall, however, plenty of fragments of terracotta tiles are used as building material. At a level of 30 cm. above the floor in Room XII, there is a horizontal line of such fragments. The wall abuts against Wall 8.

*Wall 41.*

Width: 0.40 m.

Bonded with the preceding wall, a fragment of another wall extends to the W. It is founded on earth, at the same level as Wall 40; here, too, plenty of roof-tiles are used among the rubble. The wall makes a right angle to the N. and is destroyed after 0.60 m. The use of this wall remains uncertain.

*Wall 42.*

Width: 0.62 m.

At a level of 130.0 below the floor of Room XII, there is a wall parallel to Wall 19 and running in S. to N. direction. The wall is built of rounded rubble with a straight, low course of rubble on the E. face. The W. face not very clear and loosely built of smaller rubble. The wall is founded on the sandy earth. The excavation of a similar wall, which runs to the W. was stopped after about 2.0 m.

*Wall 43.*

Width: 0.45 m.

This was not excavated entirely. It should be connected with the preceding wall.

*Wall 44.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 0.75 m.

This wall is built in a line with Wall 5, and joins this wall with Wall 45. The wall consists of rounded rubble, wedged with smaller stones loosely held together with white mortar, and is founded on the solid rock. Two large fragments of a limestone column with moulded base, measuring 0.63 m. in diameter are used as building stones. The wall abuts against Walls 6 and 45. Against the E. face, there is a bench built along the Walls 44 and 45. The bench is built in the same technique as the Wall 44. Just in the angle, there is a piece of a Doric stone column built into the bench.

*Wall 45.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.05 m.

This is built on the rock, of rounded rubble, wedged with smaller chips. The faces are rather carefully built with larger, often triangular rubble. The S. face is covered by thick, yellow stucco, which is rather soft and loosely fastened to the wall. The wall begins at the N. angle of Room XVIII and runs to the E. close to the entrance of Room XVI. It passes over Wall 9 which is sunk in a trench in the rock. Possibly, the wall once was prolonged down to Wall 11. The E. part, however, is now entirely removed. Just to the E. of the point where



Fig. 14. Soli. Entrance into the *cella*, Room XVIII of Temple C.



Fig. 15. Soli. Wall 52, superimposed Wall 51.

the wall crosses Wall 9, there is a square ashlar built into the wall on the rock. It is not impossible, that this ashlar originally served some other purpose than that of a building-stone. It may be connected with another square ashlar, or base lying in line with it in the angle between Walls 9 and 10 A. Both ashlars lie on the same axis and close to Wall 9 and may have served some purpose in connexion with this wall.

*Wall 46.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 1.20 m.

The wall is of the same construction as the preceding wall. The W. face is more carelessly built. The E. face, on the contrary, is covered by the same kind of revetment as the S. face of Wall 45. The wall is founded on the rock and partly sunk into a trench. In the middle, it crosses the dromos of a rock-cut tomb to the W. of Room XVIII. To the S. of this dromos, there is a small recess in the wall, much ruined.

*Wall 47.*

Width: 0.52 m. Height: 0.65 m.

It is of the same character as the preceding wall. It too, is founded on the rock and covered with a revetment on the N. face. The wall is bonded with Wall 49.

*Wall 48.*

Width: 0.52 m. Height: 0.90 m.

This is of the same character as the preceding walls. It is covered with the same kind of revetment on both faces. The N. end is strengthened by some larger, roughly cut ashlars. Through the N. end of the wall there is a doorway just above Stairs 162. The threshold stone (level 136.0) is preserved *in situ* and provided with a square pivot hole at the S. angle. The width of the doorway is 1.05 m. The S. end abuts against the angle between Walls 47 and 49.

*Wall 49.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 0.70 m.

This is of the same character as Wall 48. It is founded on the rock and bonded with Walls 47 and 50.

*Wall 50.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.00 m.

This wall makes a right angle with the preceding wall with which it is bonded. In the W. part, the wall is of the same type as Walls 45—49, and is here built as a facing for the rock behind it. The middle part of the wall had been removed. The rock here comes near the surface, but slopes rapidly to the E. There, the wall is preserved. It is founded on the rock and built of rubble of the same kind, as in the W. part. The revetment is, however, lacking. The wall is bonded to Wall 52.

*Wall 51.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 0.70 m.

This wall is built of rounded, often triangular rubble of ordinary size. Mortar seems not to have been used for fixing the stones together. The wall is founded on a layer of *chavara* at the level of 112.0. The upper level of the wall is measured to 118.8. The wall is bonded with Wall 53 and probably, too, with Wall 10 A, though the connexion with the latter wall could not be clearly ascertained. To the S. the wall is cut off by the Wall 50. (Fig. 15).

*Wall 52.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.00 m.

Partly on top of the preceding wall, but diverging slightly from it; the wall is built very solidly of large, rounded rubble mixed with white limestone held together with hard gypsum mortar. The E. face is covered with a revetment of white gypsum of the same kind used as mortar in the wall, but only above the level of the water-conduit which runs along the wall on the E. side. Below the conduit no revetment is to be found. Near the middle of the wall, there was a passage through the wall, 0.70 m. wide, which, subsequently had been filled up with large lime-ashlars, held together with white gypsum. The revetment on the E. face covers this door-filling. The wall seems to have been heightened by another layer of stones built on top of the other wall, and bridging over the door-filling. This heightening of the wall may have been made at the same time as the filling of the door. The wall which abuts against Wall 11, is bonded only with Wall 50. Other walls (10 B, 56, and 22) abut against the wall. As the revetment mentioned is bonded with the water-conduit and, also, covers the door-filling, the building of the conduit and the uppermost part of the wall with the door-filling must be contemporary. (Figs. 15 and 21).

*Wall 53.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.80 m.

This wall is of the same construction as Wall 51, and is, like that wall, founded on a layer of *chavara*. Two parts can be distinguished: — The lower, or substruction, built of dark rounded rubble without mortar, and the upper, with the same dark rubble mixed with white limestones and held together with white mortar. The wall is clearly bonded with Wall 51, but the upper part of it has been cut off, at the building of Wall 52. Possibly this upper part of Wall 53 was bonded with an upper part of Wall 51, which, however, was removed to give place for Wall 52, in line with Wall 11. The W. part of Wall 53 abuts against a rock face which was lined with Wall 54. (Fig. 44).





Fig. 16. Soli. Lower courtyard of Temple B, with walls (1—4) below floor. In the fore-ground Column-bases 35—37.



Fig. 17. Soli. Cisterns 169 and 170, from the south.

#### Wall 54.

This wall seems to have been of the same character as Wall 10 A. It is, however, very much destroyed. The stones were fallen to the E. of it. It was probably bonded with Walls 10 A and 53.

#### Wall 55.

Width: 0.80 m. Height: 0.50 m.

This wall probably constitutes a part of the *temenos* wall. It is founded on the rock and abuts against Wall 50. The wall seems to run along the Water-conduit 167. Whether the break in the wall just opposite Cistern 168 is a doorway or a mere damage on the wall is uncertain. (Fig. 24).

#### Wall 56.

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.60 m.

This wall is built of small rubble without mortar, and with a very rough face. It was not possible to distinguish if the wall is only a substruction for Wall 22 and built in connexion with that wall, or if it ought to be connected with Wall 57. The wall abuts against the substructure of Wall 52, and is founded on a layer of earth. This fact indicates that the former assumption may be the right one. (Fig. 20).

#### Wall 57.

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 1.50 m.

This is built of comparatively small, rounded rubble, irregularly placed. No mortar seems to have been used for fixing the stones. The wall is founded on the rock and runs along the E. side of a trench or conduit excavated in the rock. The lower part of the W.





Fig. 18. Soli. Room XXIII, from the north. Floor-filling partly removed in order to show Walls 58 and 57 below the floor.

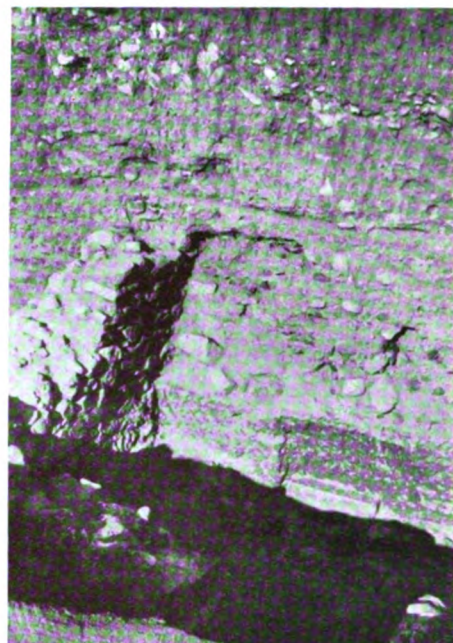


Fig. 19. Soli. Stratification of Room XXIII. To the left, Wall 57.

face is very roughly built with many projecting stones. The wall runs below Wall 65 and abuts against the vertically cut rock behind Wall 71 A, the substructure of which is divided into two parts by Wall 57. On the other side, it was very difficult to state whether it was bonded with Wall 56, or not. The upper parts of the wall have been demolished for the levelling of the floor of Room XXIII. (Figs. 18 and 19).

#### *Wall 58.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.80 m.

This wall is of the same construction but here gypsum mortar is used to fix the posts of a doorway through the wall. These doorposts are strengthened, too, by larger lime-rubble. The width of the doorway is 0.90 m. (Fig. 18).

#### *Wall 59.*

Width: 0.58 m. Height: 0.75 m.

This wall may have been a part of the preceding wall, situated as it is on the same line. It has, however, been cut off by Walls 123, 133—135, and further down by the entrance through Wall 125. The wall is built on the rock of rounded rubble. Evidently, it has been levelled when the floor of Room LIV was laid, so that all its higher parts above this level have been removed. In the W. parts, only the S. facing-stones of the lowest course thus are preserved. The bad state of preservation here depends on the fact that the rock comes up to a rather high level on this spot. Further to the E., the rock slopes, and there the wall is better preserved. (Figs. 42 and 48).





Fig. 20. Soli. The joint between Walls 52 (left) and 56 (right). In the middle, Water-conduit 167.



Fig. 21. Soli. Room XXIV, with Water-conduit 167, from the south.

*Wall 60.*

Width: 1.15 m. Height: 0.75 m.

This belongs to the same system of walls as the preceding one. The wall consists of two parts lying close together and built of large mixed rubble without mortar. The walls are founded on the rock and were levelled to the floor of Room LIV. Probably the wall was connected with Wall 59. It disappears below Wall 132 and has, evidently, nothing to do with the latter. (Figs. 42 and 48).

*Wall 61.*

Width: 0.40 m. Height: 0.40 m.

It is of a similar construction and founded on rock. The wall disappears below Wall 132, which in its lower part abuts against the former. The wall should be connected with the following wall. (Fig. 48).

*Wall 62.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.45 m.

This wall is of the same construction as the preceding one in its S. parts. It was connected with Wall 61 by a short piece of wall which extends to the N. Through Wall 62, there was a door crossed by the subsequent Wall 59 described above. On the other side of the door, a short piece of the wall is visible. This disappears, however, below the angle between Walls 136 and 137.

*Wall 63.*

Height: 0.40 m.

This wall is connected with the preceding wall and makes a right angle with it. It was founded on the rock. Only the S. face was uncovered.





Fig. 22. Soli. The eastern portion of Temples E (back-ground), and F (fore-ground).



Fig. 23. Soli. Wall 79 and remains of Stair 163.

*Wall 64.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 0.75 m.

This wall is built of rounded rubble and white limestone held together with white gypsum mortar. Ashlars are also used as building-stones, built in with the rubble. The wall which is founded on loose earth at the level 112.7, is strengthened by two square pillars, solidly built with gypsum mortar. A similar pillar is to be seen in the angle between Walls 64 and 65. The wall abuts against Wall 22. (Fig. 21).

*Wall 65.*

Width: 0.40 m. Height: 0.70 m.

It is of the same construction as the preceding wall, but with only one gypsum pillar in the middle of the wall.

*Wall 66.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.60 m.

It is of exactly the same construction as Wall 64.

*Wall 67.*

Width: 0.70 m. Height: 3.40 m.

The lower part of this wall (67 A) is built of rounded dark, or grey rubble, fixed together with white hard gypsum mortar. This gypsum covers both faces of the wall and is smoothed to a level surface on the parts which were visible; on the lower parts, on the contrary,

which apparently were meant as substruction walls below earth, the gypsum was smeared only in the joints between the rubble. Here the traces of the workers' fingers could be seen, especially on the face below the floor of Room XLV.

For technical reasons, it was impossible to excavate the wall to its lowest part, but probably it was founded on the rock. There is a great difference of level of the rock in Room XLV and Room XXXIV so that the rock is found on a much higher level in the latter room than in the former, where it was impossible to reach it by diggings. The wall is partly built as a revetment wall, against the rock plateau in Room XXXIV (cf. a similar arrangement on the opposite side of this rock plateau on which Rooms XXXIV and XXXV are situated, Section X).

The highest level of the lower wall can now be studied on the face towards Room XXXIV, where a horizontal cut through the whole wall is noticed. The part below this cut belongs to an original building, that one above it is subsequent. This cut is still more evident on the face towards Room XLV, where the upper part does not fill the whole width of the lower part. This part is bonded with the lower parts of the Walls 73 and 68 but not with Wall 88. The wall is also bonded with two supporting buttresses below Wall 98 and outside the angle 67—68. These supporting walls are very substantially built, the stones being of the same kind as in Wall 67 A fixed together by gypsum mortar.

The upper part of Wall 67 (B) is built partly of the same kind of rubble as the lower part, but the bulk of the building-stones consists of large, white lime blocks. Scanty remains of gypsum mortar are found in the wall, but no gypsum revetment was preserved on the face. The upper part (B) is bonded with the upper part of Wall 73, but not with Walls 88 and 68.

Still a third part is connected to this wall on the face towards Room XLV. It was founded on the floor of this room, and is connected and bonded with the altar bench there (cf. below). Thus this wall is a side bench of the same kind as that one found to the left of the entrance close to Wall 89. Its upper surface originally was on the same level as the altar bench. (Concerning the stucco-paintings cf. above).

#### *Wall 68.*

Width: 0.70 m. Height: 1.20 m.

Like the previous wall, this one consists of two parts corresponding to the two parts A and B of Wall 67. Here, too, the different kinds of material are noticed. The lower part is founded on the rock. Only a rudimentary part of the upper wall is preserved to the N. The face towards Room XXXIV is covered by a gypsum revetment and smoothed. The outside of the wall, on the contrary, which possibly was hidden below earth is very rude with projecting stones and no straight face. In the N. angle of Room XXXIV the wall is bonded with the corresponding parts of Wall 69. (Fig. 24).

#### *Wall 69.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 1.20 m.

This is of the same kind as the previous wall, with two parts: The upper part (B) is somewhat narrower than the lower part (A). The lower part consists of black, or grey rubble





Fig. 24. Soli. Walls 88 and 68 from the south.



Fig. 25. Soli. Remains of Stair 164 of Temple D, and Wall 103 (to the right) of Temple E. In the background, Walls 105 and 106.

faced with gypsum; the upper part is built with rough lime-blocks without any gypsum revetment. A vertical break in the part (A) aligned with the E. face of Wall 70 is probably to be connected with the building of the altar in Room XXXIV (cf. below). The part (A) is bonded with Wall 70 A and with Walls 72—73 A. (Figs. 28, 29, and 47).

#### *Wall 70.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.35 m.

The same arrangement with two parts in the wall is noticed here, too, as in the previous walls. The interior face of the part (A) is now hidden by an altar in Room XXXV, but was uncovered close to the W. angle of Room XXXV, where the wall was bonded with Wall 69 A. This face was covered with a gypsum revetment. The exterior face shows the same rough character as Wall 68. The upper part of the wall (B) is preserved only to an unimportant height and this part is narrower than the part A, so that there was a sort of socle made of the part (A) on the exterior face.

#### *Wall 71.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 1.10 m.

This wall is of the same construction as the previous walls, with two parts distinguishable. The lower part (A) is founded on the rock just above a vertically cut edge. The wall extends



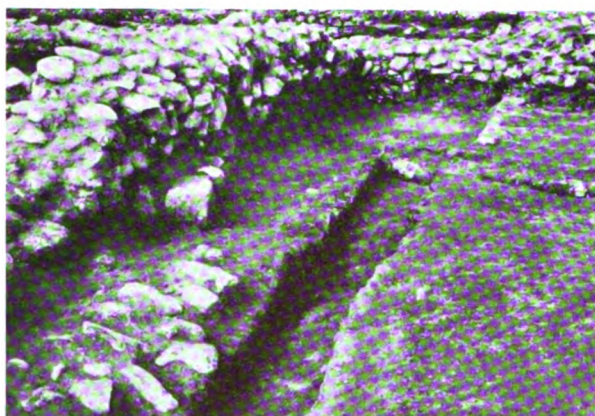


Fig. 26. Soli. Wall 80 from the east and corner of Altar 153 of Temple D, superimposed by Wall 108 of Temple E.



Fig. 27. Soli. Room XLII of Temple E, built above Wall 84 of Temple D.

downwards facing the rock-edge. The lower part of this revetment is destroyed. It is in line with a piece of wall further down in Wall 123 (cf. below, Wall 82). The upper part of the wall (B) is of the same construction and material as the corresponding parts of the previous walls. The upper part is preserved only in the N., where it is bonded with 70 B.

*Wall 72.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: at least 1.95 m.

This wall is of the same construction and material as the previous one. It is founded on the rock with a socle carefully built of rubble. Against the face towards Room XLIV there is a revetment wall of small rubble founded on earth and extending up to the threshold level. The central part of the wall is interrupted by a doorway, 1.67 m. wide, the jambs of which are strengthened with some large, roughly cut stones. The threshold consists of flat slabs, slightly worn and solidly held together with gypsum mortar. To the W. of the doorway there is a 2.40 m. wide step built of oblong ashlar. Pivot holes are visible in two of these ashlar. (Fig. 28).

*Wall 73.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: at least 1.80 m.

It continues the previous wall, and is of the same material and construction as this, but without any revetment wall in front of the door. The wall has deep substructures built as lining walls for the vertically cut rock edge close to the wall. Below the jambs, these substructures contain solid pillars or supports, held together with very hard gypsum. Close to the N. jamb, there is on the outside of the wall a square part, built very solidly and faced with gypsum mortar, the object of which is rather obscure. Through this wall there is a doorway of the same type as in Wall 72. The center of the threshold and step is, however, damaged.

*Wall 74.*

Width: 0.80 m. Height: at least 1.30 m.

The wall diverges slightly from the preceding walls, but seems to be parallel with Walls 79 and 84. It extends from a point in line with the N. jamb of the door to Room XLV, to



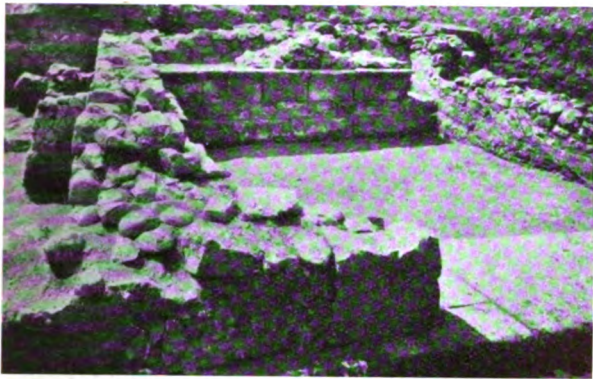


Fig. 28. Soli. Room XXXV with Altar 155 in the rear.



Fig. 29. Soli. Altar 150.

Wall 92 under which it disappears without any bond. The wall is very loosely composed of rubble of various sizes. No mortar is to be noticed. The wall is founded on the rock. The S. E. face is carefully built with larger stones, usually in one course only. The other face, on the contrary, is very carelessly built without any straight line, and on this side of the wall the smaller stones are placed. The wall is connected with two buttresses in line with the edges of the stair described below. These buttresses fix it to Wall 73: they are, however, not bonded with the latter wall. Wall 74 abuts against Wall 75. If it is connected with some wall below Wall 92, could not be stated.

Against the S. E. face of the previous one another foundation is built extending just in front of Room XXXIV. This foundation consists of two parts: close to Wall 74 the wall is built of small, carelessly laid rubble in places held together with gypsum mortar. Towards the E., the foundation is lined with a row of ashlar, the edge of which were slightly worn. The ashlar and the rubble connected with them were founded on the loose filling of *chavara* at level 109.0. Evidently this wall is the substruction for a wide stair, the lowest step of which is preserved as a row of worn ashlar. (Fig. 25).

#### Wall 75.

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 0.60 m.

The wall is built of small rounded rubble without mortar. The wall is founded on a layer of *chavara* at the level 105.0 It abuts against Walls 98 and 100.

#### Wall 76.

Width: 0.50—0.70 m. Height: 1.40 m.

This wall is of a solid construction and built of rubble of ordinary size. No mortar is used for fixing the stones. The wall is founded on the rock, which here slopes towards the W. The rubble is placed rather regularly across the wall, so that the faces are carefully set. The wall extends towards Room XLV below Wall 96, but it was here impossible to follow the wall further than what is to be seen on the plan. At this point the wall thickens somewhat and is strengthened by a gypsum wall-pillar of very solid character (Figs. 33 and 35). The wall is bonded with —

*Wall 77.*

Width: 0.40 m. Height: 1.70 m.

which is of the same material and construction as that wall. It had been raised to the level of the floor in Room XLVI.

*Wall 78.*

Height: 0.20 m.

This wall is of a very weak character. It consists of a row of small grey rubble mixed with white limestones, built in only one layer. The stones are held together with white gypsum mortar. The wall is founded on the rock just where it begins to slope towards the S. and is in line with Wall 76. Evidently it should be considered as a facing for the rock floor to the E. of the wall. The wall is bonded with the next wall, which makes a right angle to it.

*Wall 79.*

Height: 0.50 m.

This wall is of the same character as Wall 78. It is partly preserved in two courses of stones, and in the E. part some larger stones are noticed, 30—40 cm. long. The wall is lined with gypsum, which extends over the whole face with the exception of a piece just in front of the lime-ashlars behind Stair 163. Near this staircase, a doorway must be supposed through the wall, the remains of which have now vanished. (Fig. 23).

*Wall 80.*

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.50 m.

This is of the same character as the previous one and is bonded to it in the E. end. The gypsum facing is well preserved (Fig. 26). The wall is bonded to —

*Wall 81,*

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.30 m.

which makes a right angle with it. This wall, too, is of the same weak character and serves as a facing for the rock floor. The wall runs to the N. E. and disappears below Wall 92. How it was finished can not, in the present circumstances, be determined (cf. Fig. 26 and the conjectural reconstruction, Fig. 57).

*Wall 82.*

Width: 0.75 m. Height: 1.90 m.

Short fragment in Wall 123 (cf. below). The wall is founded on the rock with a solid base of flat lime-ashlars. On this base the wall is built very solidly of small rubble held together with hard gypsum mortar. The wall is built as a revetment wall against the vertically cut rock, below Wall 92, and has partly been built over by Walls 92 and 123 in subsequent periods. Only a very small part of the wall remains just at the intersecting point between these walls. The rest has been destroyed, evidently with some difficulty. The reason why the main part of the wall has been removed seems hard to explain. (Fig. 30).

*Wall 83.*

Width: 1.20 m. Height: 0.40 m.

Below the S. part of Wall 90, a wide, but very low wall begins and runs to the E. It consists of comparatively small rubble the larger of which is placed at the edges and held together with hard, white gypsum. The wall is founded on the rock and is bonded to —





Fig. 30. Soli. Remains of Wall 82 preserved at the joint between Wall 92 and 123, from north-west.



Fig. 31. Soli. Stratification close to the north façade of Wall 85, below the floor of Room XLV.

#### *Wall 84.*

Height: 0.20 m.

This is of the same type as Walls 78—81 and is built as a facing for a rock floor to be seen beneath Wall 90. The wall consists of small rubble held together with hard gypsum mortar. The E. face of the wall is more carefully built than the N. one, which abuts against the rock. The wall extends below the staircase which leads up to Wall 90. Connected with this wall, there are some ashlar placed as a step, S. of the stair mentioned. These are the remains of the same stair, which leads up to Wall 79. (Fig. 27).

#### *Wall 85.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 2.10 m.

This wall runs at a comparatively low level from below Wall 100, below Wall 98, the Altar 156 in Room XLV, and Wall 88, outside which it forms an angle to the S. W. (Wall 86). The Wall consists of two separate parts, differing in building-technique. The E. part of Wall 85 is built entirely of well wedged, rounded rubble without mortar. W. of Wall 98 there is a vertical cut in the wall. This cut has been built over by the subsequently added W. part of the wall, which contains similar rubble, but is here mixed with many pieces of ashlar and other stones, evidently used as building material before. No mortar is used in this part either. For technical reasons it could not be ascertained, if the wall was founded on the solid rock or not. The wall was excavated to level 93.0 though without

uncovering its lowest part. It had been demolished just sufficiently to make room for the walls and floor of Room XLV. It had been partly built into Wall 88. (Fig. 31).

*Wall 86.*

Width: 0.55 m.

This continues the preceding wall to the S., and is of the same construction as this. The wall is built as a facing against the rock to the W. of it. Because of that, the E. face is more carefully built. The wall was never uncovered for its whole length, as the excavation was restricted at this point. (Fig. 24).

*Wall 87.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 2.00 m.

Only a short piece of this wall could be examined between Walls 85 and 89. Here it is of the same construction as the E., *viz.* original part of Wall 85, to which it also is bonded. To the S., the wall extends below Wall 89 without any connexion with that wall. As Wall 85, this wall had been demolished to the level of the lowest parts of the walls of Room XLV.

*Wall 88.*

Width: 0.80 m. Height: 2.40 m.

The wall consists of one upper and one lower part, differing much in building technique. The joint between the parts mentioned was situated at the same level as the altar bench of Room XLV, or 121.0. This joint is especially well marked on the W. face, where the upper part even projects over the lower one. The lower part, which evidently was covered by earth, was carelessly built of dark comparatively small rubble without mortar. The lower part is founded on a layer of *chavara* at the level of 105.0. The upper part, on the contrary, contained large rubble mixed with white limestones and wedged with small chips of limestones. This part is held together with hard, white gypsum mortar, and its E. face was covered by painted stucco (cf. above). In the S. part, a fragment of a round column similar to those in Wall 44 was built in, as a building stone. Both parts of the wall abut against Wall 67, but are bonded with the corresponding parts of Wall 89. (Fig. 24).

*Wall 89.*

Width: 0.80 m. Height: 2.40 m.

This is of the same construction as the preceding wall, and consists also, of two parts corresponding to those of that wall. On the outside of the upper part, a gypsum revetment is preserved in the W. part of the wall. Probably, this indicates the ground level at that time. E. of Wall 98 the wall changes its character. Here the lower part, or the substructure wall is partly held together with hard gypsum mortar, and this part thickens on the N. side of the wall to a sort of socle, which is rather roughly constructed. The substructure is founded on a layer of loose *chavara* at levels which can be studied on Sections IX—XV, p. 71.

The lower part of the wall is bonded with Walls 88, 98, and 93; the upper part with Walls 88 and 93. Wall 77 has been built into the substructure part of the wall. — In front of the apse of Room XLVI there seems to have been a doorway through the wall. The remains of this, consist of a jamb built of rubble and the gypsum foundation for the threshold stone. The original width of the doorway is, however, impossible to fix. (Figs. 33 and 47).



*Wall 90.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.25 m.

This wall consists of two parts, the lower of which is a carelessly built substructure wall founded on the rock. This lower part consists of comparatively small rounded rubble. No mortar is here used for fixing the stones. The upper part is more carefully built with straight faces on both sides. In this part the rubble is of somewhat larger size, wedged with stone chips and held together with gypsum mortar. The upper part of the wall is slightly narrower than the substructure, which was hidden by earth below the floor of Room XLIII D. The wall abuts on the S. against Wall 89, and on the N. against a substructure pillar, for the stair (165) which leads up from Room XXIX. (Figs. 23 and 46).

*Wall 91.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 1.35 m.

This wall is of the same type and construction as the preceding wall. To the S., it abuts against a second substructure pillar for the stair mentioned. To the N., however, the lower part of the wall is bonded with the substructure part of Wall 92. (Figs. 23 and 46).

*Wall 92.*

Width: 0.68 m. Height: 1.50 m.

This wall consists of two parts, the lower of which is of a construction similar to the lower part of Wall 91. It is, however, strengthened by square, solidly built pillars in the wall, which are founded on the rock. One of the pillars is situated near the angle between Walls 91 and 92, the others at equal distances in the middle of the wall. Only in the most W. part of the wall, the lower part is connected and bonded with the upper part, and of the same width as this. E. of Wall 123, on the contrary, the upper part is built on top of the lower part, so that this projects out some 0.10 m. on the S. face. This upper part, too, contains solidly built pillars of a similar construction as those in the lower part, but they are not placed on top of these. Only the third pillar, from the E. is based on one of the pillars of the lower wall. The upper part of the wall, with the exception of the westernmost part, is built of white lime-rubble of comparatively large size and held together with hard gypsum mortar. Most likely the E. part of the wall was subsequently repaired.

The S. face was probably covered with a soft revetment, some scanty remains of which are still preserved. The N. face is covered with a hard gypsum revetment, which on this side extends over the lower part of the wall, and makes the side wall of Room LVI. The W. piece of the upper wall, which is bonded with the lower part is of quite a different character. Here both parts are of the same width, and the S. face of the upper part is covered with stucco, possibly once painted.

The W. end abuts against Wall 72. At the E. end, the lower part is bonded to Wall 91, the upper part to Wall 125. The wall runs over Wall 74 and 81, but without any connexion with these walls. At the E. end of the wall, there must have been a doorway just above the Staircase 166, though no traces of this passage are now to be seen. (Figs. 32 and 48).

*Wall 93.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.20 m.

This is of a construction similar to Wall 90. It is bonded with Wall 89 and also with Wall 94.



Fig. 32. Soli. The courtyard (Room XLIII A) of Temple E, with floor-stratum removed so that remains of Altars 152 and 153 are visible, from the west.

*Wall 94.*

Width: 1.80 m. Height: 1.10 m.

This wall is built of rounded rubble of various size and founded on the rock. The S. face is strengthened by large rubble held together with hard, white gypsum mortar. No mortar is used in the N. part of the wall where the stones are of smaller size. The wall is bonded with the lower part of the preceding wall and with Wall 95.

*Wall 95.*

Width: 0.80 m. Height: 0.50 m.

Here two parts of the wall are to be distinguished. The lower one consists of rounded, dark rubble held together with gypsum mortar. In the upper part, which extends only over half the width of the foundation wall along its E. face, it is very solid. In this part, some fragments of statues were used as building material. The wall is founded on the rock. It covers some foundations of the staircase leading up to Wall 84, and is bonded with the S. foundation wall of the large staircase (165), which leads up from Room XXIX to Room XLIII. (Fig. 4).

*Wall 96.*

Width: 0.70—1.30 m. Height: 1.10 m.

This wall runs in line with the preceding wall, on the N. side of the staircase mentioned. It is built of rounded rubble of various size, the larger stones being placed on the edges

of the wall. No mortar is used for fixing the stones, but they are wedged with stone chips. The wall, which is founded on the rock, thickens very much to the N. The E. face is straight and well built, but the opposite one is curved and rather carelessly built. The core of the wall between the faces is like a heap of stones. The wall is bonded with the N. supporting wall for the staircase mentioned to the S. of the wall. The N. part of the wall is bonded with Wall 97. (Fig. 27).

*Wall 97.*

Width: 2.30 m. Height: 1.00 m.

This continues the preceding wall in W. direction. The wall is of the same construction and material, and bonded with the lower part of Wall 91, but not with Wall 125 which is situated at a higher level.

*Wall 98.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 1.30 m.

This wall is built as a foundation for the door to Room XLV. It consists of comparatively small, rounded, dark rubble in the upper parts held together with hard gypsum mortar. This part of the wall below the threshold is founded on loose earth at the comparatively high level of 111.0. To the S. of the threshold the wall has the same construction as Wall 89. It is also founded on the same layer and level as that wall (cf. above), against which it abuts. To the N., the wall abuts against the solidly built buttress of Wall 67. The doorway through this wall is of the same character as those through Walls 72 and 73. The step with pivot holes inside the entrance is, however, here lacking. The threshold stones had all been removed, but traces of them are to be seen clearly on their gypsum foundation. The level of this is 115.0 and the width of the entrance is 1.65 m.

*Wall 99.*

Width: 0.35 m. Height: 0.50 m.

Partly covering Wall 85, there is a short piece of wall built of small rubble mixed with limestone. Both faces are covered with a hard gypsum revetment. At the E. end, a fragment of a statuette (No. 340) was used as a building stone. The wall was probably a foundation for a bench along Wall 89. The three following walls have served this purpose also. (Fig. 64).

*Wall 100.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 0.30 m.

This wall consists of rounded rubble mixed with a few ashlar held together with hard gypsum mortar, which also covers the faces. The wall is founded on a layer of earth, and is not really bonded with Wall 84, though it is partly built over the foundation of that wall. To the E. it abuts against one of the gypsum pillars of Wall 103 with which it is aligned. On the upper side of the wall a worn ashlar at level 115.0, indicates that there was a door through the wall. Of this doorway nothing is preserved, but the door seems really to have existed (cf. below). (Figs. 25 and 33).





Fig. 33. Soli. Walls 100—102 from north-west.

*Wall 101.*

Width: 0.30 m. Height: 0.20 m.

This might have been a wooden wall lined with gypsum. The remains of it now consist of this lining which once surrounded a wooden beam. On the inside of the lining, traces of the wood are still to be seen. The beam was lined with gypsum on the underside, too, which seems to indicate the original foundation level of the wall, which is almost identical with that of the next wall. (Figs. 33 and 34).

*Wall 102.*

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.20 m.

This wall is parallel to the preceding wall, but diverges slightly to Wall 76, on top of which it is partly built. The wall has a very weak character. It is built of rounded rubble of ordinary size. The faces are covered with a gypsum revetment. The rest of the wall is founded on a layer of earth. The wall abuts against Wall 100, and was probably prolonged to the E. for an uncertain distance. (Fig. 33).

*Wall 103.*

Width: 0.75 m. Height: 0.55 m.

This wall is parallel to Walls 72—73—98 and runs between Walls 100 and 104 on the same line as these. The wall is built of dark rounded river-stone, without mortar, and with





Fig. 34. Soli. Stratification above Walls 75 and 99.



Fig. 35. Soli. Room XL built over by Wall 89.

a rather rough building technique. Though the wall is wide, it gives a very weak impression. The ends of the wall are, however, strengthened by solid substructure pillars, built with gypsum mortar. As far as could be ascertained, the whole wall is founded on the rock. The wall is not bonded with other walls. (Figs 25. and 32).

#### *Wall 104.*

Width: 0.75 m. Height: 0.90 m.

This wall continues the preceding wall, but is of a different character. It is built of rubble mixed with white limestone partly held together with hard, white gypsum mortar. The wall is not founded on the rock, but on a layer of earth, about 0.30 m. above the rock. The N. part of the wall is preserved to a higher level (118.3) than the S. part, where the preserved level is the same as that of Wall 103. The wall abuts against Wall 92. (Fig. 26).

#### *Wall 105.*

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.30 m.

This wall is of a very weak character and consists of comparatively small rubble held together by gypsum mortar. The S. face is lined with a gypsum revetment, which is preserved especially in the E. part. The wall is founded on a layer of earth and abuts against Wall 104 and the threshold in Wall 72.

#### *Wall 106.*

Width: 0.35 m. Height: 0.55 m.

At the same level as the preceding wall and parallel to it, is a row of three raised ashlar held together with gypsum mortar. To the N. of these ashlar, there is a bench of rubble which is built against Wall 92 covering its stucco revetment. Almost certainly, the wall served the same purpose as the preceding wall, probably as the foundation for a bench outside Room XXXV.

#### *Wall 107.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 0.40 m.

This wall is of a very bad construction and consists of rounded rubble of various size, built up very irregularly. No mortar is used for fixing the stones. With the present state of



preservation, the original faces are hardly to be distinguished. The E. end of the wall is marked by a solidly built substructure pillar just W. of Wall 79. The wall is founded on a layer of earth about 0.30 m. above the rock and passes over the S. altar in Room XXXI. The wall abuts against Wall 103. At the middle of the wall, a piece was destroyed in digging the second trial trench. The bad state of preservation made it difficult, almost impossible, to separate the wall from the surrounding loose stones in the earth. (Figs. 32 and 46).

*Wall 108.*

Width: 0.60 m. Height: 0.40 m.

This is of exactly the same material and construction as the preceding wall. It is also founded on a layer of earth at the same level as Wall 104 and runs over the E. altar in Room XXXI. The most E. part of the wall is founded on solid rock. To the W., the wall abuts against Wall 103. Both Wall 107 and 108 are of too bad a construction to support a high wall. Probably they were built as stylobate for wooden columns. (Figs. 23, 26, 32, and 46).

*Wall 109.*

Width: 0.48 m. Height: 1.00 m.

The following six walls evidently belong to subsequent buildings, built against Wall 89. The wall consists of dark rounded rubble held together with gypsum, which also covers the faces of the wall above a certain level. The facing stones are of larger size than the stones in the core. The wall is founded on a layer of earth and abuts against Wall 89. It is bonded with the next wall.

*Wall 110.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.05 m.

This is of the same material and construction as Wall 109. Against the middle of the S. face, there is a semicircular apse, which is filled with smaller rubble than the stones which make the edge of the apse.

*Wall 111.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 0.30 m.

It is of the same material and construction as the preceding walls, and is bonded with Wall 110 and abuts against Wall 89.

*Wall 112.*

Width: 0.30 m. Height: 0.45 m.

It is a very weak wall which consists of a row of small rubble without mortar. The wall abuts against Wall 110.

*Wall 113.*

Width: 0.25 m. Height: 0.45 m.

As the preceding wall.

*Wall 114.*

Width: 0.50 m.

This wall is similar to Walls 109—111. It is founded on a layer of earth and abuts against Walls 111 and 115.

*Wall 115.*

Width: 0.65 m. Height: 1.00 m.

This is built on a line with Walls 90—93 and is of the same building technique as the preceding wall. It is founded on a layer of *chavara*.

*Wall 116.*

Width: 0.35 m.

It is of the same building technique as the preceding wall. The E. face is rather carefully built. Both these walls abut against Walls 94 and 117.

*Wall 117.*

Width: 0.60 m.

This wall belongs to a building (Room XLIX) which can be separated from the other temples described below. The wall is of a rather careful construction built with large rubble revetted with gypsum mortar on the N. face. The wall is bonded with — Walls 118—120 which are of the same construction. Width: 0.40; 0.60; 0.65 m.

*Wall 121.*

Width: 0.85 m. Height: 0.45 m.

This wall, which is bonded with the preceding walls has a solidly built socle of ashlar, on top of which a rubble wall is built. The S. end of the wall is formed as a door jamb. Probably there is an entrance to another building which for economic reasons was never excavated.

*Wall 122.*

Width: 0.80—1.00 m.

This wall is built of rubble of ordinary size without mortar. The wall is founded on the solid rock with a sort of rough socle. It is parallel to the Walls 95 and 96, and makes a support for the *chavara* floor in Room XXIX. In front of the large staircase (165) up to Room XLIII, a worn ashlar is preserved on top of the rubble, evidently a threshold stone to a doorway through the wall. To the N. the wall runs for an uncertain distance. This part of the wall was never entirely excavated.

*Wall 123.*

Width: 0.55 m. Height: 1.60 m.

It is built of rounded rubble wedged with chips of limestone. In the core of the wall, only scanty gypsum mortar is noticed, but the faces are covered with a soft stucco revetment. The wall is founded on the rock. At the middle of the wall, there is, on the W. side, a semicircular apse built in the same technique as the wall. The apse wall is of the same width as the wall itself and is bonded with it as follows: to the lower part of the wall the apse is loosely added on the exterior of it; the upper part is bonded to the apse. The apse is filled with rubble. At the level 114.1 or 1.4 m. above the floor in Room LVII, a square flat limestone, measuring 0.58 × 0.64 m., was placed in the center of the apse, the rounded edge of which projects a little from the wall face. To the N. of the apse, two other stone plaques project from the wall on the E. face. One of these is provided with two square cavities on the upper side (cf. Fig. 38). The meaning of these remains uncertain.

The wall abuts against Walls 82 and 92. To the N., the wall is bonded with Wall 124, the joint being strengthened with some roughly cut limestones. (Figs. 38, 39, 48, and 49).

*Wall 124.*

Width: 0.50 m. Height: 1.30 m.

This wall is of the same type and construction as the preceding wall. It is, however, weaker and contains less mortar. A piece of the S. face near Wall 123 fell down, shortly



Fig. 36. Soli. Door-way through Wall 125 into Temple F.



Fig. 37. Soli. Inner west corner of Temple F.

after its uncovering. The wall is founded on the rock and bonded with Wall 125. (Figs. 42, 48, and 49.)

#### *Wall 125.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.90 m.

It is of the same material and construction as the preceding walls and is bonded with the upper part of Wall 92. In the middle of the wall, there is a doorway on both sides flanked by large monolithic jambs. The threshold consists of flat stones at the level 103.0. The same arrangement as in Walls 72 and 73 is to be noticed here, too, *viz.* a long step inside the doorway provided with square pivot holes. The width of this entrance is 2.10 m. To the E. of it there is a passage between Walls 97 and 127. Here the floor consists of earth on a rubble foundation. This passage, which is 1.75 m. wide, was possibly connected with Room XXIX by some wooden steps. (Fig. 36).

#### *Walls 126—127.*

Width: 0.65; 0.90 m. Height: 0.75 m.

To the E. of Wall 125 there is a wide terrace limited on the S. side by Wall 97, on the N. and E. sides by Walls 126 and 127. Probably the terrace was the foundation for a tower, or the like in front of the doorway. The walls are closely connected with the present terrace, as a facing for it, which consists of rounded rubble. The walls are of the same construction as the preceding walls, but without any revetment. (Fig. 22).

#### *Walls 128—132.*

Width: 0.35—0.45 m. Height: 1.40 m.

These walls belong to an angled bench. They are all of similar construction, built of small rounded rubble without mortar and founded on the rock. The foundations of the wall below the floor-level of Room LIV are roughly built with projecting stones on the faces. The middle of the bench consists of *chavara*, which is held together by the walls. They are all bonded to each other. (Figs. 37, 42, and 49).





Fig. 38. Soli. Wall 123, eastern façade.



Fig. 39. Soli. Cistern 172 from the east.

*Walls 133—139.*

Width: 0.30—0.45 m. Height: 1.00 m.

They belong to a similar bench of *chavara*, situated opposite the other one. These walls are of the same material and construction, and are arranged in the same way. Over the N. angle of the bench, however, a circular cistern is built, Cistern 172. (Figs. 42 and 48).

*Wall 140.*

Width: 0.45 m. Height: 0.40 m.

This wall is built of rounded rubble mixed with some oblong, roughly cut stones. It is built as a support for a terrace to the W. of it and is founded on a layer of earth. It abuts against Walls 123 and 22.

*Wall 141.*

Width: 0.38 m. Height: 0.40 m.

Another wall is built between Walls 22 and 124. It is of a very weak character, constructed of small rubble founded on the floor-level of Room XXVII.

*Wall 142.*

Width: 0.75—0.90 m. Height: 0.20 m.

This wall is built as a prolongation of the face of Walls 95—96—127 and connects these walls with the angle between Walls 21 and 22. It is constructed of rubble and is founded on the rock. The E. face is more carefully built than the W. one.

*Wall 143.*

Width: 0.75 m. Height: 0.75 m.

At the middle of Room XXVII there is a buttress built against Wall 22. It is founded on the floor-level of the room and consists of rounded rubble without mortar, the facing stones being of a larger size than the core of the wall.

*Wall 144.*

Width: 1.25 m. Height: 0.80 m.

This is another buttress to the same wall. It is of a similar construction as Wall 143 and bonded with Wall 142.

## Altars.

*Altar 145.*

At the intersecting point of the axes of Room V, and Rooms I—II in front of the entrance to Room VII, there is a small, level floor cut out of the rock. In front of this rock floor, there is a cavity sunk in the rock. As this cavity was filled with ashes, charcoal and numerous fragments of terracotta statuettes (cf. below) it may be explained as an offertory pit. It is possible that an altar was once placed on the flat rock floor near the cavity. Subsequently the altar, however, has been removed entirely.

*Altar 146.*

Width: 1.80 m.

East of the entrance to Room VIII there is an altar, shaped like a quarter of a circle. The altar consists partly of the solid rock, partly of white lime-rubble held together with hard gypsum mortar. The rounded rock edge is vertically cut, and faced with small wedged rubble, covered with a gypsum revetment in many layers. Above this on the rock, there are the remains of the altar, which was built of rounded rubble and gypsum. Between the altar and Wall 24 A, there is a channel in the rock probably intended for the rain-water from the roof of Room X. (Fig. 8).

*Altar 147.*

Width: 25.0 m. × 22.0 m.

This altar is built of rounded rubble, wedged with chips and fragments of terracotta roof-tiles. The outside was covered with a partly preserved revetment of white, or yellow stucco. In the angles of the square altar, large orthostatic ashlar were placed as supports for the wall, which surrounds the edges of the altar. The core consists of a filling of rubble. At the northern angle of the altar, a fragment of a column of the same shape as those in Wall 44 and possibly that in Wall 88, is used as a building-stone. The western parts of the altar were probably destroyed by the digging of a trial trench. This happened to pass over this part of the altar. The very loosely built core of the altar could not be distinguished from the loose stones in the surrounding earth. The original shape of the altar, however, is indicated by a square, elevated part of the rock on which the altar was built. It was square in shape. In the middle of the eastern side, there was a small recess or niche, the floor of which was plastered with a square roof-tile. The northern jamb of this recess was built of fragments of roofing-tiles. The meaning of the recess remains uncertain. Possibly the place for the cult-statue was there.

Between the altar and the eastern Wall 7, there was a cavity in the floor about 0.25 m. wide, covered with a square roof-tile. The cavity contained grey earth and ashes. (Figs. 5 and 6).

*Altar 148.*

In the centre of the square courtyard, Room XVI, there are at the level 128.5 two well hewn ashlar built together on a foundation of rubble with gypsum mortar. The whole is founded on a layer of earth (the floor of the courtyard). Possibly these stones, evidently preserved *in situ*, are the remains of an altar in the centre of the courtyard. (Fig. 44).

*Altar 149.*

Width: 0.90 m.

In the northern angle of the Room XVIII there was an altar, now very much spoiled. A row of small rubble on the floor, held together with gypsum mortar shows the original size of the altar. Between these stones and the corner, the altar table proper was found. It consisted of a square stone plaque with slightly raised edges. On the walls above the plaque, there are no signs showing the original height of the altar. To the south of it there was a cavity in the rock 0.77 m. in diam., and 0.15 deep, filled with ashes and dark earth. This too, should be connected with the altar.

In the western angle of the same Room XVIII, there is a small recess, (cf. above) the walls of which are built of small rounded rubble. This recess was accessible through an opening in Wall 46. In the centre of the recess, there was an ashlar block with a square cavity in the centre possibly for a base of a statue.

*Altar 150.*

Width: 0.50 m. × 0.65 m.

This altar is situated in Room XXXIV exactly in the middle of the western façade of Wall 69, against which it abuts. The core of the altar consists of comparatively large, white lime-rubble, which are covered with a gypsum revetment in two layers. The altar is built on the solid rock on a base of rectangular plan and with vertical, tapering sides. The upper part seems to be damaged. It is preserved, however, to exactly the same height as the lower part (A) of Wall 69. The core of the altar is not bonded with this wall, but the gypsum revetment of the lower part of the wall is the same as that of the altar and faced at the same time. (Fig. 29).

*Altar 151.*

Width: 1.60 m. Length: 4.30 m.

In the same room, another altar was built against Wall 68. This is, however, very much destroyed. The remains consist of two large ashlar blocks still *in situ*, on a foundation of small rubble and gypsum. Traces of other ashlar were to be seen on the foundation. The whole is founded on the rock. The ashlar are parallel to Wall 68. Evidently this altar formed a long bench extending along Wall 68. It was, however, not bonded with any of the adjoining Walls 67—69. Most probably this altar could be reconstructed as No. 155 in Room XXXV.

*Altars 152 and 153.*

East of Wall 103 are the remains of two altars oriented, as far as could be determined, in east-western direction. Their axes thus are slightly diverging from the other walls of the system. (Fig. 32).

*Altar 152.*

Width: 2.50 m. Length: 2.55 m.

It is the southernmost one. At present the remains of it consist of a square elevation of the rock floor lined with small white lime-rubble, which are held together with gypsum mortar. The exact shape of the altar is uncertain, but according to the preserved remains it was square. On the western side, it seems to have been a small rampart built in the same way as the altar. The altar has, in a subsequent period been demolished, and built over by the Wall 107 and partly by the Altar 154.





Fig. 40. Soli. Offering pit of Altar 154, visible as a dark patch in the earth. The upper edge of the pit marks the floor-level of Room XLIII A.

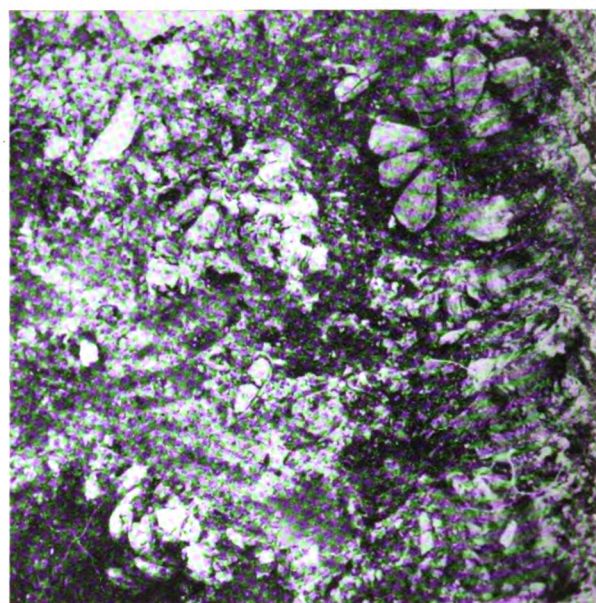


Fig. 41. Soli. Seeds of *Pinus Pinaea* in the offering pit of Altar 154.

#### Altar 153.

Width: 2.60 m.  $\times$  2.70 m.

This is too much destroyed to be described in detail.

#### Altar 154.

Reconstructed Width: about 2.00 m.

This altar is situated between the two preceding altars and partly covering them. It has not the solid character as these and consists of rounded rubble blocks, built up without mortar into an altar which probably was square in shape. The southern and eastern parts, however, were destroyed. To this altar, too, a small rampart from the west belongs, built of somewhat larger rubble. Only one of the edges to this rampart is preserved.

The altar has an orientation diverging from that of the preceding altars but parallel to the axes of Walls 89, 107, 108, and 92. West of the altar there was a cavity in the earth-floor which was filled with cones of *Pinus Pinaea*. This cavity is to be connected with Altar 154. (Fig. 40).

#### Altar 155.

Width: 0.80 m. Length: 2.80 m.

This is situated in Room XXXV and forms a long bench along Wall 70. The altar is comparatively well preserved. It stands on a solid base, or socle of ashlar in two courses, which are laid on the rock floor. The ashlar are held together with hard, white gypsum mortar. Above this socle, the altar consists of rubble which is faced with raised ashlar; the latter are provided with a carefully cut profile at the upper edge, which projects over the face. In the middle of the rubble core, there is a square part, elevated 0.37 m. above the ashlar level. The meaning of this is uncertain. Possibly it was the base for the cult statue (No. 329), which was found slightly removed from this place on the altar. At the





Fig. 42. Soli. Interior of Temple F, west portion from the south.

northern end of the altar there is a small niche, 0.44 m. above the floor of Room XXXV between Walls 70—71 and the altar. It has a gypsum revetment. (Fig. 28; Plan VII, 6).

#### *Altar 156.*

Width: 1.90 m. Length: 3.90 m.

Another ledge-shaped altar is to be found in Room XLV. The arrangement is similar to that in Room XXXV. Against Wall 88 there was a bench built with the upper edge at the level 122.0, or 0.55 m. above the floor of Room XLV. This level is the same as the highest part of Wall 67 A. The altar consists of a rubble wall built across the middle of the room. This wall which is founded on a layer of earth at the floor-level, retains the altar bench, the interior of which consists of earth filling up to the level mentioned. The upper surface of the altar is covered with a layer of gypsum or stucco, which extends down over the wall mentioned, where it is provided with paintings of the same pattern as Wall 88 above the altar. Connected with this wide altar opposite the entrance of the room, there are two ledges along the sides of Walls 89 and 67. The side-ledges consist of rubble founded on the floor-level. These benches were also covered with a layer of stucco, painted on the façades

of the interior of Room XLV. Their upper surfaces are on the same level. Thus only a comparatively small area of the floor remains in the centre and eastern part of the room. To the left and right of the entering worshipper are the side-benches; at the back of the room is the altar along Wall 88.

### Stairs.

#### *Stair 157.*

Width: 1.35 m.

This leads up through Wall 17. No steps are preserved *in situ*. Only the foundations of the staircase are now to be seen. They consist of rounded rubble held together with white gypsum mortar on which traces of the stair ashlar are noticeable. The edgestones are larger, and roughly cut. The foundations of this staircase rest partly on the solid rock, partly they are built on the filling of an earlier tomb destroyed before the construction of the staircase. The same tomb has been built over by the Wall 21. (Fig. 12).

#### *Stair 158.*

Width: 2.50 m.

It leads up to a doorway through the Wall 7. All the stair ashlars have been removed so that only some remains of the foundations of the stairs are now to be seen. These consist of gypsum mortar on a raised part of the solid rock, just to the east of Wall 7.

In close connexion with the staircase, there is a wall which at a subsequent period, has been built in front of Walls 7 and 19 (cf. above). This wall has probably been attached, in connexion with some later alterations of the original stairs. A reconstruction of the staircase is rather difficult from these very scanty remains. Probably, however, four steps would lead up to the level of the threshold-stone preserved in Wall 7. (Fig. 5).

#### *Stair 159.*

Width: 0.45 m. Length: 1.20 m.

This consists of three large ashlar. The largest one is placed between the two others so that the approach is from two sides. The ashlar which are placed on the rock are held together with white gypsum. The staircase is built against the Wall 13. (Fig. 8).

#### *Stair 160.*

Against the eastern façade of Wall 25, there was a staircase leading up from the south to the doorway in the Wall 25. The staircase consists of a foundation of small rubble held together with gypsum mortar. This foundation which extended along the whole of Wall 25 is covered on the outside with a gypsum revetment of the same kind as that of Wall 26. A part of the foundation has been destroyed just in front of the doorway. Only the lowest step is preserved *in situ*. It consists of a slightly worn ashlar.

#### *Stair 161.*

Width: 1.50 m.

This stair is built against Wall 11. It consists of a rubble-stone foundation built on the solid rock. The rubble is held together with hard gypsum mortar. Only the lowest



step, very much worn, and a fragment of the second, are preserved. These consist of long ashlar. The rest of the steps had been removed. They can, however, be calculated to have been five in number. (Fig. 45).

*Stair 162.*

Width: 0.90 m.

In front of the doorway through Wall 48 there are two steps leading up to the threshold. The steps which consist of two flat stones are placed on a small rubble-foundation on the solid rock. At the southern end of the uppermost step, there is a square pivot hole. (Fig. 14).

*Stair 163.*

Width: 4.60 m.

Leading up to a doorway through Wall 79 there is a flight of steps, the remains of which are now to be seen west of, and below Stair 165. They consist of a row of ashlar solidly built on the rock with gypsum mortar, against Wall 79. The two southernmost ashlar are preserved *in situ*. The others have been removed a trifle, but their original places are easy to state. The northern ashlar had been removed, but the original width of the step can be calculated from the traces of the removed ashlar on the rock, and the gypsum mortar which was left. The edge of the step thus could be defined to a point 2.20 m. from the angle between Walls 79 and 80 (cf. also the description of Wall 79).

Another part of the same staircase is visible to the east of Wall 84, on the southern side of the great Staircase 165. Here two ashlar of another step in the staircase are preserved, built against the Wall 84. They extend below Staircase 165. These ashlar are on a line with the southern end of the step described above. The centre of the staircase had been destroyed at the building of Stair 165 and Walls 90 and 91, which were founded on the rock.

*Stair 164.*

Width: 5.20 m.

Concerning this, see the description of Wall 74.

*Stair 165.*

Width: 2.70 m.

This staircase is built between the Walls 90-91 and 95-96. It leads up from Room XXIX to Room XLIII. The foundations of the stairs consist of two parallel rubble-walls in west-east direction, which are bonded with Walls 95 and 96, on both sides of the steps. The ashlar of those have been removed, so that only the rubble-core of the foundation is now preserved. On this, however, every one of the eight steps is distinguishable. The side walls of the staircase are built on the solid rock of rounded rubble without mortar. The interior edges (towards the steps) of the walls are strengthened by somewhat large stones. At the western ends of the walls, there are square, solidly built pillars containing gypsum mortar. Inside these pillars are two short buttresses for the uppermost step. They, too, contain gypsum mortar. The foundations for the steps are built of rounded rubble, the larger of which are placed at the edges of the steps. No mortar can be observed here. (Figs. 4 and 46).

*Stair 166.*

Width: 1.45 m.

This staircase is situated in the southern angle of Room LIV and leads from the floor of that room up to the floor of Room XLIII C. It consists of a rubble-stone foundation

and 4 steps of ashlar. Another 2—3 steps would have been necessary to reach the level mentioned. The foundation consists of rubble of ordinary size held together with white gypsum mortar. This foundation is constructed partly on loose earth. Each step consists of 3—4 ashlar held together with white mortar. In the two upper steps, the edge stones are missing. The whole construction abuts against the Walls 92 and 125. (Figs. 22 and 36).

#### Water-conduit and cisterns.

##### *Water-conduit 167.*

Old villagers from Galini report that this conduit could be seen some years ago at various points higher up in the hills, but nowhere are these remains preserved now. The conduit appears in the area excavated to the south-west of Walls 86 and 55. It runs here parallel to the walls mentioned, and further down along the Wall 68 where the conduit is interrupted by Cistern 168 (cf. below). The conduit is moulded of cement and is shaped as a channel with carefully worked edges. The channel measures 0.20 m. in depth and width. Most certainly, it was covered with flat stones throughout its length. These stones are preserved north of Cistern 168. Here the conduit turns to the east between Walls 50 and 70, and follows Wall 52 where it is bonded with the revetment of that wall. This part of the conduit is founded on a layer of earth. The conduit passes through Wall 22. Evidently the conduit was built at the same time as this wall. North of the wall, the conduit turns to the east and follows the wall mentioned down to Cistern 169. The easternmost part of the conduit is damaged. On that part of the conduit which runs along Wall 22, most of the covering stones are missing. (Figs. 24 and 45).

##### *Cistern 168.*

Width: 0.55 m. Length: 1.10 m.

It is, like the conduit, built of cement in a cavity in the rock. It is of a slightly irregular, rectangular shape with rounded angles. The outlet of the cistern is placed below the channel on the southern side of the cistern. This small cistern cannot possibly serve any other purpose, than that of clearing the water before it runs into the temple-area.

##### *Cistern 169.*

Width: 1.30 m. Length: 1.60 m.

The water-conduit ends in a rectangular cistern inside the angle between the Walls 21 and 22. This is built of rubble and flat stones against the walls mentioned. The interior of the cistern is covered with a thick layer of cement rather well preserved. The upper part of the cistern is damaged and missing. Probably the conduit ran into the cistern at the north-western angle. The outlet is situated close to the south-eastern angle just above the bottom; it consists of a circular terracotta pipe which runs through the wall of the cistern and Wall 21. It runs into —

##### *Cistern 170.*

Width: 1.75 m. Length: 1.80 m.

This is of the same material and construction as the preceding one. The interior angles are smoothed. Approximately 0.75 m. of the walls are preserved, but the upper parts are

destroyed. Possibly they extended up to the same height as Cistern 169. The water-pipe from that cistern runs out just above the bottom of Cistern 170. The outlet of the cistern is situated, like in Cistern 169, in the southern angle near the bottom. (Fig. 17).

*Cistern 171.*

Diam: 0.85 m.

In Room XXII there is a cylindrical well cut in the solid rock to an uncertain depth. The edges are lined with rubble, sometimes held together with gypsum mortar. The well was closed by a square ashlar, just big enough to cover the centre of the hole. The well was filled with earth, to a level 5 m. below the covering ashlar. It was never excavated entirely, because of the bad smell which made work near the well almost impossible. (Fig. 19).

*Cistern 172.*

Diam: 1.15 m.

This cistern is built together with Walls 133 and 139, against the angle between Walls 123 and 124. The cistern is of circular shape with slightly concave bottom. The sides are built of rubble, which are covered with a layer of stucco. The upper parts of the cistern are destroyed. Possibly there was an outlet to the south-east. Here the side opens into a channel which runs down to the angle between the Walls 135 and 136, and further to a *pithos* which was sunk into the floor of Room LIV. (Fig. 39).

# STRATIFICATION

Before we proceed to the description of the stratification proper some remarks will be made as to the nature of the solid rock on which many of the walls are founded. This is of a very soft consistency and crumbles easily. The nature of the rock makes it very suitable for cutting. Within the area excavated several chamber tombs were discovered which had been partly destroyed by the constructions built above them. On the other hand the surface of the rock had been defaced purposely in order to make space for the constructions mentioned. In general the surface of the rock slopes from the north to the south but straight through the middle of the area a valley or bay had been excavated in the solid rock possibly because just in this part, the rock was of too loose consistency to be a good basis for the buildings. This deeper part, artificially made, extends from Wall 54 in the west to Wall 122 in the east, the sides being bounded by Walls 92 and 22.

On another spot the rock had been cut away purposely in the extreme eastern part of the area along a line roughly marked by Walls 67—75—76—78. Probably, east of this line the rock was not suitable as base for the constructions. On various occasions minor cuttings in the rock were noted which partly had been placed in furrows in the rock or, more often, as a lining to the edge of it.

The loose rock, called by the peasants *chavara*, obtained as a product of these cuttings was on many occasions used for flooring rooms or courtyards. In this way the whole of Room XXIX had been laid out with such *chavara* stuff. The floor of this room thus had



the structure of a real terrace retained by Wall 122. Due to these transformations of the original rock surface, the bottom of the excavation was reached at very different depths. The area occupied by Rooms XXXI—XXXV thus is like a higher plateau between the areas on either side of it. Furthermore, the gradually sloping rock between Walls 5 and 21 is interrupted by a large cavity in the rock below the middle of Room II, which most likely is due to the chamber tombs, which, on this spot, were destroyed when the floor of Room II was levelled.

Concerning the general character of the debris it may be said that the layers were of various composition if they were situated below floors, walls etc. *viz.* if they in any way were connected with the buildings proper. These layers will be described in detail on the following pages. The earth which was covering the destroyed buildings, however, was rather homogeneous in consistency. It was grey in colour and contained plenty of stones fallen from the walls and a small amount of pottery. The fallen stones were concentrated at certain continuous layers which usually started at the present summits of the walls. Close to the floors this filling sometimes changed and objects found in the bottom stratum on the floors evidently should be connected with the constructions. Other finds between the floors or underneath them are to a great extent used for the establishment of the chronology.

In order to facilitate the investigation of the stratification the following seventeen sections are separately described. They are laid out on the most important places, the discussion of which otherwise would be very difficult and inconvenient to follow:

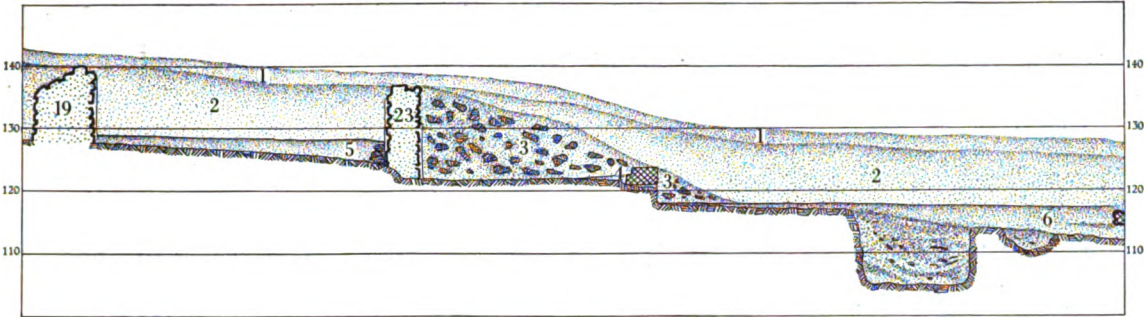
#### *Section I* (Plan III, 1).

This section shows the layers in Rooms VIII, X, and XX and their relations to Walls 19, 23, and 25. Wall 19 is founded on the rock at level 128.0 and is levelled off at 140.0. The rock slopes slightly towards the south and has been levelled for the floors of Rooms X and XX. In the middle of the section Wall 23 is founded on the rock at level 122.0 and further to the south the threshold stone in Wall 25 is seen with its upper side at 123.8. The surface also slopes to the south. In Room VIII, an almost horizontal stratum (5) is found close to the rock. It consists of debris, pieces of plaster, roofing tiles and pottery mixed with hard clay. The upper side of the layer is stamped into a real floor at level 128.0—129.5. The filling above this floor consisted of grey, rather dark earth (2), and the surface layer (1). In Room X similar conditions are recognized, only with the difference that most of the room was filled with fallen stones from the surrounding walls (3); the same layer continued also below the threshold, in Room XX. As the eastern part of the floor in Room X slopes, it was filled up with white gypsum (4).

#### *Section II* (Plan III, 2).

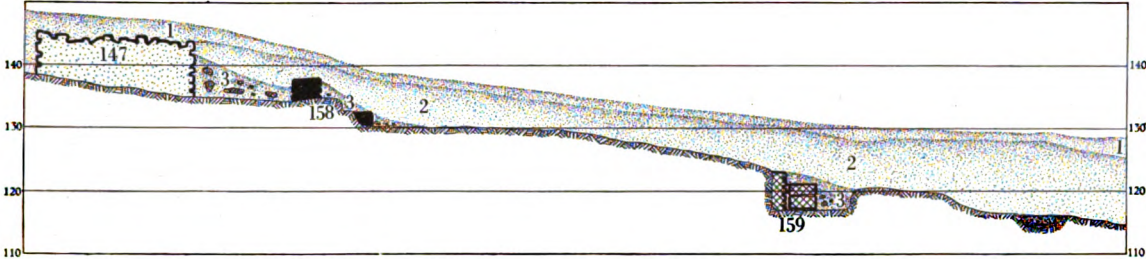
The layers have not changed much in this section which is laid out about 5 m. south of Section I, and almost parallel with the same. The layers in connexion with Stairs 158 and 159 are demonstrated. The rock is slanting from the north to the south and appears in the section with a highest level of 135.0—138.5 (floor of Room V) and with a lowest level of

Section I



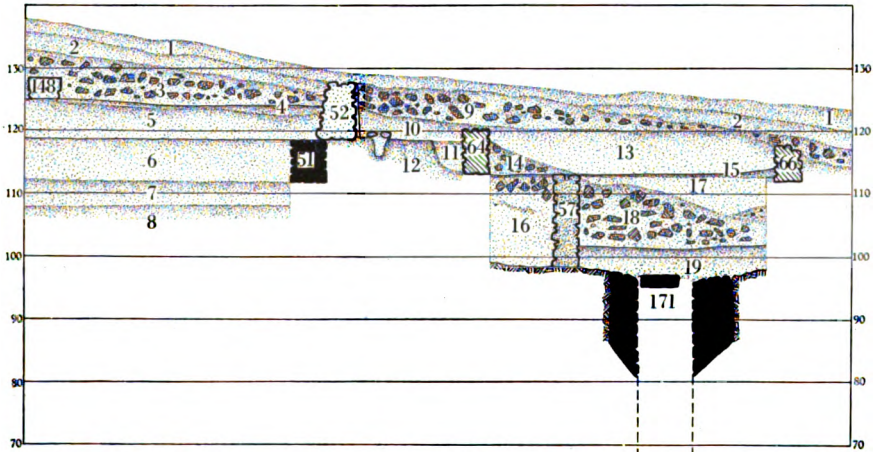
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Section II



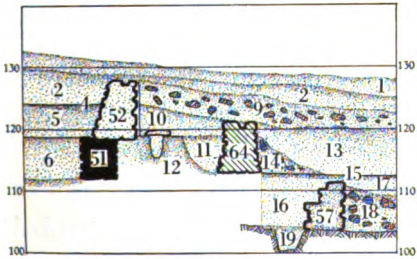
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Section III



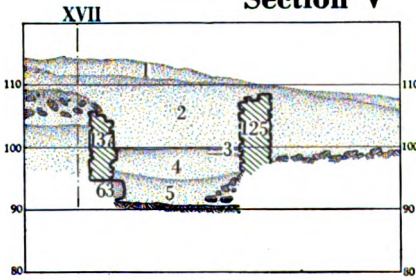
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Section IV



4

Section V



5

114.5 (below Stair 159). Layers 1 and 2 are of similar consistency as in Section I. In Room V, however, and partly extending outside the entrance through Wall 7 and Stair 158, a layer was found, consisting of rubble of various size mixed with pieces of plaster, the whole being very hard and substantial. In this layer (3) the sculptures found in this room were lying close on the floor, many of them embedded in gypsum plaster, others among the looser stones which had fallen from in the walls. A quite similar layer was recognized above Stair 159, there too, mixed with sculptures. Evidently this layer had slid into position on the sloping floor of Room III from Room V. Most likely the sculptures found close to Stair 159 once had stood in Room V together with the others found there. In the eastern part of the section the offering pit of Altar 145 is seen with a lower level of 114.0.

### *Section III (Plan III, 3).*

This section shows the rather complicated conditions below Rooms XVI, XXIII, and XXIV. The section is divided into three different portions by Walls 52 and 64. We start with the western portion *i. e.* the layers in and below Room XVI. Below the surface layer (1) and the usual layer of grey earth (2), there is a layer of fallen stones (3) of the surrounding Walls 53 and 54. This rests on a *chavara* floor at level 124.0 (4) which is thicker close to Wall 52. Below the floor the earth changes entirely and here, a layer (5) of brown, sandy earth is met with, which rests on top of Wall 51. At the same level, Wall 52 is founded partly on top of Wall 51. At this level (118.5) a second floor is noted, clearly distinguished near Wall 51, but of somewhat looser consistency further to the west. The layer below the floor (6) is rather dark in colour and mixed with sand. Wall 51 is founded on another layer (7), the upper portion of which is met with at level 112.0. Still further down loose *chavara* (8) was found at level 108.0. With the exception of the last layer, plenty of pottery sherds were found in all the others, a fact of importance for the chronology, as the layers, evidently, are undisturbed.

East of Wall 52 the conditions are less complicated. Below the two surface layers a heavy strip of stones is noted in the section, mainly coming from Wall 52 (9). These fallen stones cover the whole area of Rooms XXIII—XXIV. Below them a layer of grey earth is noted, similar to Layer 2 (10). At level 118.5, a floor was found in connexion with the Water-conduit 167. This floor (12) had partly been cut through contemporary with the construction of Wall 64. The pit or ditch into which the wall was founded was filled with rather loose stuff (11). For technical reasons the excavation could not be brought further down without removing the water-conduit. East of Wall 64 the floor of Room XXIII is noted (15) laid out at level c. 113.0. The floor consisted of hard clay and extends between Walls 64 and 66. Above it, some fallen stones from Wall 64 are noted close to this wall (14). The rest of the filling on this floor consisted of grey earth of the same character as Layer 10 (13). The floor was laid out on a substructure of sandy brown earth (17) and rubble mixed with loose earth (18). The rubble is possibly explained as stones fallen from Walls 56 and 57 which belong to a construction of earlier date than Room XXIII. The floor of this construction was found at level 101.5 (19) and consisted of very solid dark clay, which extended down



to the rock. Below the middle of Room XXII, the well (171) was found excavated in the rock. It was blocked by a square slab, and empty down to 5 m. from the entrance. (cf. above). Summing up the most interesting facts as to this section, it may again be pointed out that two separate courses of constructions were found in either part of the section, one above the other. But the constructions and floors of the western part seem not to have any direct connexion with those of the eastern part.

*Section IV* (Plan III, 4).

This shows a similar stratification as in Section III. The same layers and walls are cut through and, therefore, they are numbered as in Section III. Section IV, however, is placed some metres to the south so that the space between Walls 64 and 57 can be studied. Below the floor of Room XXIII (15) Wall 57 appears with a rather rough face to the west outside of which was a filling (15) consisting of hard, brown debris. Apparently this face constitutes the exterior of the construction. Just below this face, there is a cavity in the rock, a water-conduit, running outside the wall, in direction towards the well mentioned above (171). This conduit serves the purpose of preventing water silting into Room XXI through the wall. The conduit was filled with hard clay of the same consistency as Layer 19 of Section III.

*Section V* (Plan III, 5).

Between Walls 125 and 137 it is possible to state where the floor of Room LIV is situated. The elevation of this floor and the layers below it are demonstrated by Section V. Below the surface layer (1) and the filling in Room LIV (2), the floor of that room was distinguished as a thin strip of plaster (3) at level 100.0. This level is clearly marked, too, on the face of Wall 137. Below the floor another layer of brown earth (4) is noted which extended to about level 95.0 where a layer of very hard earth mixed with rubble was met with (5). On the same layer Wall 125 is founded while Wall 137 is founded on an ashlar block which belongs to Wall 63. Evidently, Layer 5 constitutes the filling of the wall-system 63—59 etc., and thus must be of earlier date than the superimposed construction for the floor (3) of Room LIV. The rock was discovered just above level 90.5.

*Section VI* (Plan IV, 1).

This section shows the stratification in Rooms XXXV and XLIV. Below the usual two surface layers (1 and 2) follows a layer of stones fallen from the surrounding walls. In this layer (3) some fragments of sculpture were found. They may be explained as building stones as they evidently had been used for the walls and fixed there by means of mortar and plaster which still was attached to the sculptures. Besides, some sculpture fragments were found *in situ* built into the walls together with the rubble blocks. The earth below Layer 3 must belong to this very occasion: the rooms gradually were filled with sand and earth before the walls fell into ruins covering the floor stratum (4). This consisted of brown sandy earth in which pottery fragments and some other small objects were found. This is the case as

regards Room XXXV. In Room XLIV, however, a kind of substructure for a floor was discovered at level 113.0. Below this the earth was rather dark and here the terracotta lamp, No. 349, and some sculpture fragments (No. 336) were found which thus must be of earlier date than the floor constructed above the filling. The solid rock was found at a depth of 107.5. Between Walls 72 and 74 the earth filling extended down to a depth of 100.0 where loose *chavara* was met with. Because of the narrow space, the excavation could not be carried deeper.

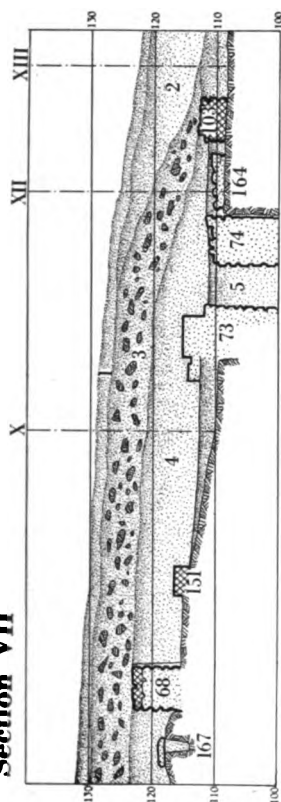
*Section VII* (Plan IV, 2).

This section runs through Rooms XXXIV and XXXIII and shows a stratification very similar to that of Section VI. Layer 2 comes up almost to the surface layer. Here, too, Layer 3 contained fragments of sculptures among the fallen stones. Other sculptures were found in Layer 4 on the floor of Room XXXIV and outside the entrance through Wall 73. While Wall 103 and Stair 164 were founded on the rock floor, Walls 74 and 73 are sunk down into a deep depression which could not be excavated to the bottom, as the shaft was too narrow. Between the walls mentioned, a real floor of hard, plasterlike concrete was found at level 111.0. This was recognized on patches above Wall 74, too. Below the floor, Layer 5 was excavated to a depth of 100.0.

*Section VIII* (Plan IV, 3).

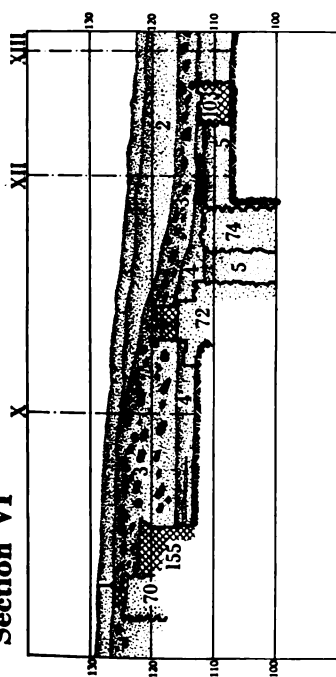
The stratification of Rooms XXXIV and XXXV are very much alike, as the floors of these rooms are placed on or very near the rock. Room XLV is a later addition to the side of the rooms mentioned and is, therefore, different to those in many places. Section VIII shows the stratification close to Wall 67 in Room XLV, and the layers outside the entrance in this room. The two surface layers are of the same kind as in the previous sections and also the heavy layer of fallen stones (3) which is found all through the whole section. Here, however, it may be noted that no pieces of sculptures were found among the stones. Evidently no sculptures had been re-used as building-stones in the walls of Room XLV. Next below Layer 3, a layer of brown earth mixed with pieces of plaster was found (4), as well on the altar (156) and the floor of the room, as on the floor of Room XXXIII outside the entrance. Wall 103 extends down to an indeterminable depth facing the rock of Room XXXIII. East of the wall mentioned, at level 111.0 a floor could be determined, laid out on a substructure of small rubble blocks. The floor was placed on a very hard stratum of dark, brown earth with horizontal courses of lighter strips (5). This was dug through to a depth of 98.0 where a second floor of rubble was met with. The upper floor, however, could be followed further to the east in Room XLIIIA, but there, no rubble blocks were found. Only a thin layer of hard earth constituted the floor, probably because the solid rock here is met with on a much higher level. In the other direction, too, the floor could be followed above the rock below Room XXXIII. Below the floor of Room XLV, the layer could not be found, due to the narrow space for excavation. Layer 7 extended partly below Altar 156 which was built up of earth (6) supported by a rubble wall. Layer 7 had been dug through

Section VII



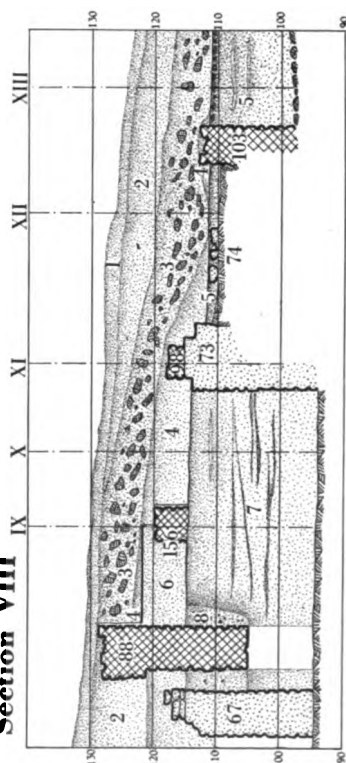
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Section VI



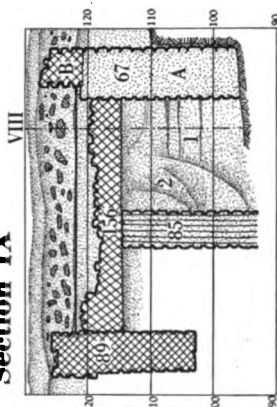
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Section VIII



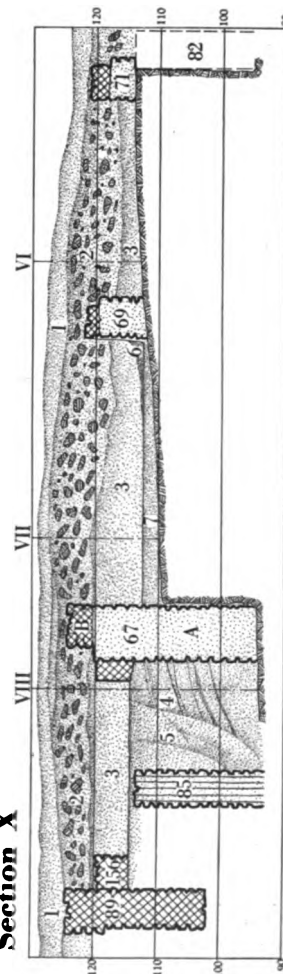
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Section IX



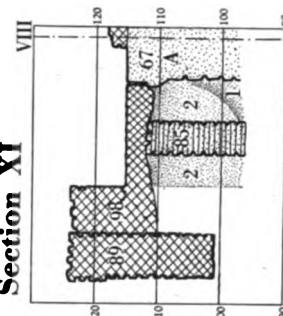
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Section X



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Section XI



6



at the same time as Wall 88 was constructed and the pit on the east side had been filled with *chavara* (8).

*Section IX* (Plan IV, 4).

This is a short section which is laid straight through the rear wall of Altar 156 from Wall 89 to Wall 67. The strata above the floor of Room XLV are similar to those of the previous section. The upper surface of the altar is seen at level 122.0; the floor of Room XLV at level 115.0. The floor rests immediately on top of Wall 85 which has been levelled off to give place for the room. Close to Wall 67 the filling which consists of *chavara* and strips of plaster has horizontal courses (1). These, however, have been cut through by a ditch in which Wall 85 was placed. The ditch is filled with other *chavara* (2). This shows that Wall 85 must have been built later than the lower part of Wall 67. The stratification to the south of Wall 85 could not be studied in this locality, as there was practically no place to go down with a deep shaft.

*Section X* (Plan IV, 5).

This section shows the stratification in all the Rooms XXXIV, XXXV, and XLV, which have been cut through by Sections VI—VIII. The walls and the architecture may first be mentioned. As is seen, Rooms XXXIV and XXXV are situated on a comparatively high plateau of the solid rock. The edge of this is faced by walls, to the south by 67 to the north by 82, the latter, however, partly removed. The walls of Room XXXV (69 and 71 B) are founded on top of the rock plateau. The south wall of Room XLV (89) is founded in the debris at level 102.0 and below the floor of the same room, Wall 85 is noted levelled off just so as to give place for the floor. The side-benches of Altar 156 are visible attached to Walls 67 and 89. They are founded on debris at the same level as the floor of the room. The upper additions of Walls 67 and 69 are clearly visible on the section. Furthermore, a small lining of Wall 71 B is visible on the outside. Once it was partly based on Wall 82.

As to the various strata, they are more or less described under the previous sections. Below the surface layer (1) the heavy line of fallen stones is recognized all over the section (2). Below this, the filling on the floors was found (3). Close to Wall 69 on the floor of Room XXXIV a layer of ash (6) was found containing Finds 326 a—c. In the same room the uneven rock had been levelled by means of a horizontal floor, consisting of a filling of hard clay and pieces of plaster (7). In Room XLV the conditions are different. Here the floor was laid out at about the same level as in Rooms XXXIV and XXXV, but on the debris. Below the floor the original filling outside Wall 67 was found with somewhat oblique courses (4). In this filling a shaft had been dug for Wall 85. The filling of the shaft (5) consisted of *chavara*. Probably the level 93.0 constitute the bottom with the real rock which, however, here is so soft that it hardly is to be distinguished from the *chavara* above.

*Section XI* (Plan IV, 6).

This section should be considered as a mere architectural one and shows the circumstances in connexion with the threshold of Room XLV and the joint of the buttress of Wall 67

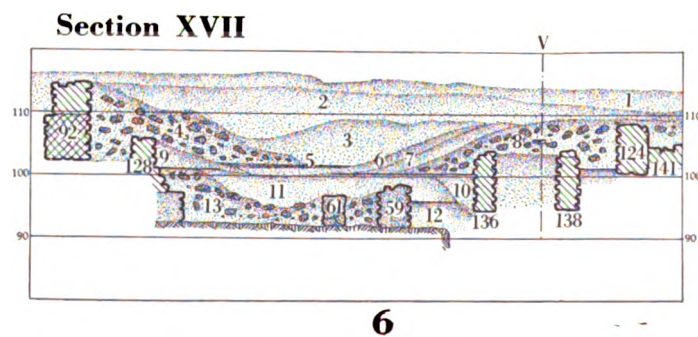
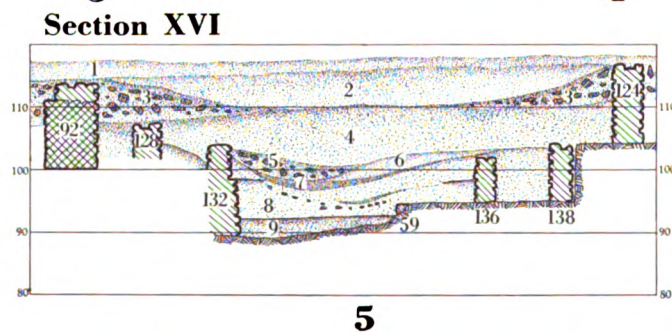
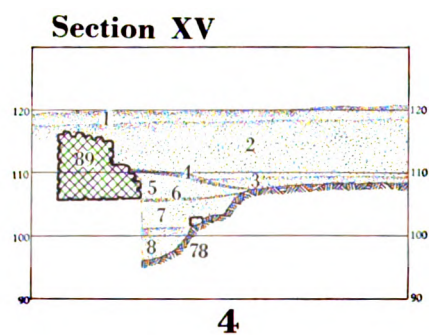
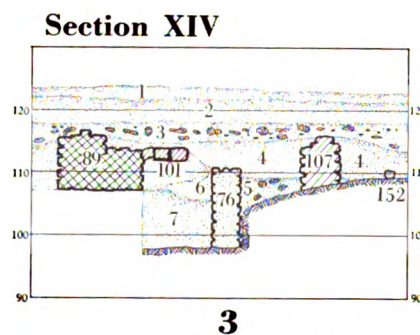
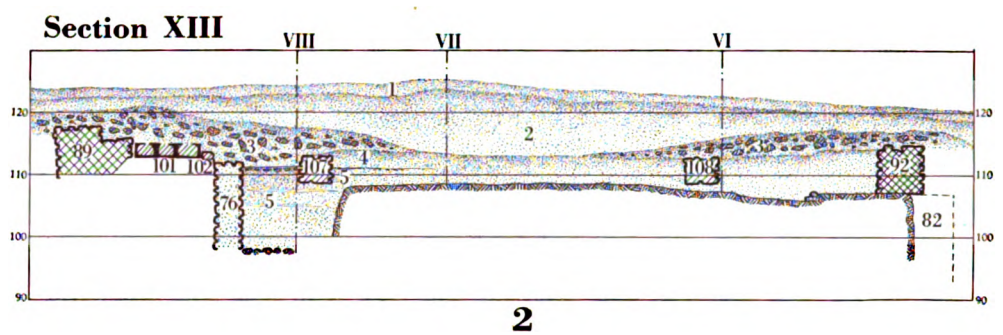
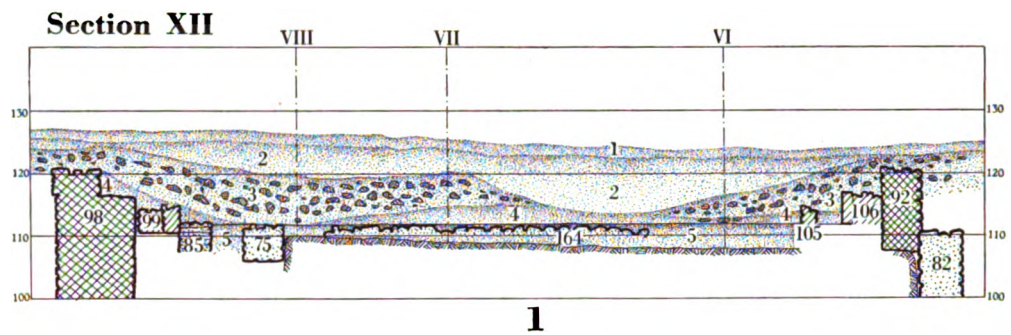
and Wall 98. The layers above the threshold are omitted. The buttress of Wall 67 is very solidly constructed and was followed down into the debris as deep as was possible (about level 97.0). Against the upper part of this buttress the threshold is built and founded in the debris at the comparatively high level of 111.0. The threshold is partly resting on Wall 85, several times mentioned in the descriptions of the previous sections. As to the stratification there is nothing new. The original filling outside the buttress is distinguished (1) as well as the ditch (2) excavated in it in connexion with the construction of Wall 85.

*Section XII (Plan V, 1).*

With Section XI we leave the three Rooms XXXIV, XXXV, XLV and procede to the stratification in front of them. This is already partly made in Sections VI—VIII. Section XII crosses them and is laid out in order to demonstrate the whole stratification between Walls 89 and 92 on the area west of Wall 103. As to the architectural remains visible in the section, the Stair 164 is noted in the middle. It was not founded on the rock but in the debris just above it. On either side of this stair, the lower step of which is seen on the section, Walls 75—85—99—89 and 105—106—92—82 are situated. While Wall 92 is founded on the rock Walls 105 and 106 are founded in the debris at a level which may indicate a floor (level 111.5). On the other side Walls 75 and 85 are levelled off to about the same elevation. The depth of Walls 99 and 89 were not ascertained on this part of the excavation. As to the stratification most of the layers are known from Sections VI and VIII. Below the two surface layers (1 and 2) follows a layer of fallen stones (3) which, evidently to a great extent, originate from the thick Walls 89 and 92. The slip-stone layer gradually disappears above the Stair 164. Below this layer, follows another one consisting of brown, sandy earth (4). At level 111.5 a horizontal line was noted between Wall 105 and the stair. This most likely marks a floor level though the earth below (5) showed no variation to Layer 4. The rock was found at level 108.0.

*Section XIII (Plan V, 2).*

Just east of Wall 103 the conditions have not changed very much though there are layers and walls which deserve some explanation. The section is parallel to Section XII and, as in that section, is limited by Walls 89 and 92. In the middle, Walls 107 and 108 are distinguished. They are founded in the debris somewhat above the level of the solid rock. Below Wall 107 the rock slopes rapidly and there, Wall 76 is noted probably founded on the rock at a deep level. The space between Walls 76 and 89 is occupied by a floor based on a substructure of wooden beams, the impressions of which are clearly distinguished in the soil. The beams were covered with a revetment of plaster which was preserved *in situ* (Wall 101). The two surface layers (1 and 2) are known from the previous sections and also the layers of (3) which fallen stones come from Walls 89 and 92. Below the fallen stones there is a layer of brown, sandy earth (4) corresponding to Layer 4 in Section XII. The same holds good for Layer 5, separated from Layer 4 by some faint traces of a floor at level 111.0. The floor, however, could be noted only close to Wall 107. For the stratification below Walls 101 and 102 reference is given to Section XIV.





*Section XIV* (Plan V, 3).

This is a short section the meaning of which is to show the stratification in connexion with the floor based on Walls 101 and 102. In the middle of the section, Wall 76 is recognized, founded on the solid rock in a depression of it. On either side are Wall 107 of loose construction and founded on the rock, and Wall 89 founded in the debris at level 107.0. Below the two surface layers (1 and 2) and the fallen stone layer (3) a layer of grey earth follows (4). Between Walls 107 and 76 this rests on another layer (5) consisting of brown sandy earth and retained by Wall 76. Below the wooden beams with their plaster impressions, a filling of light-brown, sandy earth (6) was found which rested on thin courses of gypsum matter visible in the section as oblique strips. As an important fact it may be mentioned that these strips always pointed to the base of Wall 89 which shows that they constitute the surface level of the debris on which the wall was founded. Below the strips, a quite different kind of debris was found, dark in colour and containing plenty of pottery sherds (7). The chronological sequence of the layers and the walls must be explained as follows:

1. Wall 76 was built as a facing to the rock edge to the north of it. Possibly Layer 5 accumulated at the same time.
2. On the floor of Room XL the debris, Layer 7, accumulated and on top of those, Wall 89 was founded.
3. Subsequently, Layer 7 was heightened with Layer 6 and on top of this the wooden floor was laid out.
4. When the construction later on slowly began to fall into pieces, Layers 4—1 gradually accumulated on top of the walls and earlier strata.

*Section XV* (Plan V, 4).

This section corresponds to the previous one but is laid outside Room XL. The stratification, however, has not changed much. Wall 76 is continued by Wall 78 which was built as a facing of the rock edge. Wall 89 appears in a similar way as in Section XIV. As to the upper layers it may be noted that the fallen stones have disappeared so that Layer 2, consisting of grey earth, comes down close to the floor-level (4). Layer 3 consists of dark, sandy earth and Layer 4 of *chavara*. Evidently this constitutes the floor of Room XLIII B which belongs to Wall 89. This wall is founded in the debris at level 106.0, which is marked by a thin layer of *chavara* (6). Layers 4 and 6, both consisting of *chavara* meet at level 108.0 slightly below the floor-level for Room XLIII B. Between them there is a wedge-shaped layer (5) composed of brown earth mixed with *chavara*. Below Layer 6 a dark, sandy earth was found (7) which extended down to level 101.0 where it rested on a horizontal layer of pure *chavara*, which did not contain a single potsherd. The chronological order of the strata and the walls is explained as follows: — the *chavara* stratum (8) originally constituted the ground on which Wall 78 partly was built. This wall being destroyed, the debris of Layer 7 was laid as a filling on which Wall 89 was founded. This level was marked by the thin layer of *chavara* (6). The rough lower part of Wall 89 shows that Layer 6 cannot have been the floor of Room XLIII B. The filling was heightened, up to Layer 4 which was intended as a continuation of the rock floor at level 108.0. Layer 3 probably was in position already,

during the time the building was still in use, while Layers 1—2 should be explained as originating from its period of destruction.

*Section XVI* (Plan V, 5).

For a long time, during the excavation, the stratification of Room LIV was very puzzling. The centre of the room could not be excavated until a road on which the railway was laid had been removed. Until nearly all the debris had been removed, the same problem occupied the excavators' mind: to find the floor level of the room and to keep in contact with the very faint traces of it. As usual in these temples, there was no real pavement, not even a real layer indicating the floor. Probably owing to the sloping character of the rock below, the previous floor level had sunk down, following the slope of the rock: This holds good, especially concerning the interior of the room. Towards the entrance, the floor was more even and there, too, it was not so difficult to trace. Section XVI is laid across the interior part of the room while Section XVII is meant to show the layers near the entrance. The section is confined by the long walls of Room LIV, Walls 92 and 124. At a distance of about 0.60 m. inside of these, there are benches of *chavara* filling retained by thin shells of rubble walls, 128 and 132 to the south, 138 and 136 to the north. Obviously the upper parts of these benches were destroyed. A line of projecting rubble blocks on the face of Walls 132, 131, 135, and 136 at level 99.0 seemed to indicate that a floor was laid at this level. At a much deeper level, Wall 59 runs parallel with the long walls of the room. All the walls in the section are founded on the solid rock. Below the two surface layers (1 and 2) two wedge-shaped layers of stones fallen from Wall 124 and 92 follow. The two layers (3) nearly meet in the middle of the section. Below the fallen stones follows a layer of grey earth containing single potsherds. At level 103.0 the stratification begins to show more complicated features. Close to Wall 132, there is a short strip of brown earth mixed with small rubble and pieces of plaster (5). This rests partly on top of another layer consisting of a compact substance of burnt clay mixed with plenty of plaster (6). Both these layers rest on a heavy streak of charcoal and ash (7) lying obliquely across the whole centre of the room. The Layers 5—7 may be explained as the roof of the building which burnt and fell down upon the floor. Evidently the roof was constructed of wood and sealed with plaster and clay. The final catastrophe of the building might explain the difficulty of finding the floor, which must have been laid on the next layer (8) composed of a filling of brown earth and rubble. Layer 9, consisting of pure *chavara* filling, most likely forms the floor of Room L the extent of which is ascertained only to the north (Wall 59). Summing up the facts we obtain the following chronological order of the strata: when Room L was constructed the *chavara* filling (9) was laid as a floor for that room. Subsequently this building decayed and Room LIV was constructed above it. Its walls and benches were founded on the rock. Room L was covered with the filling (8) and the new floor placed on top of the filling. Later on the house burnt, the roof constructed of wood, clay, and plaster fell down on the floor thus causing the accumulation of Layers 6—7. The top layers all came into position in connexion with the general destruction of the building.

*Section XVII* (Plan V, 6).

Quite a similar development can be traced in this section which is laid parallel to the previous one, but nearer the entrance of the rooms. Walls 92 and 124 are easily distinguished as also the northern bench with the *chavara* filling. In the middle of the section, Walls 59 and 61 are noted, founded on the rock. In this section the floor of Room LIV is easily ascertained. It is laid on the filling of Layers 10 and 11. Layers 1—9 are thus all foreign to the building, or constitute matter removed from its original place. The two surface layers are of the usual kind. Layer 3 has not the hard consistency of Layer 2. The stones of Layer 4 have evidently come from Wall 92, while the loose *chavara* (9) below Layer 4 originates on the southern bench. Layer 5 consists of charcoal and ash and corresponds to Layer 7 of Section XVI. It may be noted that the charbonized matter of Layer 5 does not rest immediately on top of the filling below the floor (11) but on a layer of *chavara* (6) which has silted down from above the northern *chavara* bench. This rests on other layers (7 and 8) originating from the same direction. Below the floor-level of Room LIV, there is a compact filling of brown debris (11) into which a pit had been dug. The northern *chavara* bench was founded on the bottom of this pit. The pit had partly spoilt a second floor at level 96.0 which evidently belonged to the wall system below the floor of Room LIV (Room LIII). This second floor consisted of pebble laid out on a bed of hard, brown sand containing plenty of pottery (12). South of Walls 59 and 61, there is a bottom stratum composed of hard clay and plenty of rubble (13), evidently the remains of the destroyed surrounding walls. Between Walls 138 and 124 there is a narrow passage where the floor easily could be distinguished. The floor stratum (14) consisted of hard clay mixed with plaster.

## ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS

Walls 5—8 are bonded to one another making together a closed room which, by the bond-stones of Wall 6, is bonded only with Wall 9 which on the W. encloses a court in front of Room V. The S. limits of the court must have been constituted by Wall 10 B, which is also a revetment wall for the edge of the rock in the court just mentioned. Towards the S., this ground is bounded by Wall 11 and Wall 12, both of them being built as a basis for the floor of the aforesaid ground. Between Walls 12 A and 12 B there seems to have existed a corner, for which reason it is supposed that Wall 12 B has continued in W. direction towards the N. E. corner of Room V in this way limiting the court. Careful excavations between Wall 12 B and Wall 19 only, made it appear that a previously existing wall there might have been taken away. The ground thus enclosed, accordingly, has a curved, irregular form, but its floor is constituted by the rock, cut evenly and slightly sloping towards the E. This ground may be explained as an open court in front of the temple *cella* (Room V) which was covered with a roof. The entrance to this court lies in front and on axis with the entrance to the *cella*.

E. of the entrance of the court between Walls 11 and 12 A, the conditions are very complicated. Here the rock-floor shows considerable cavities of irregular shape, which are remains

of rock-tombs and which, probably in connexion with the later buildings upon the ground, have been entirely demolished and filled up. Whether Walls 1—4 constitute remains of buildings, or are only substructures for a floor, placed at a higher level, is uncertain. They lack direct connexion, however, with the other walls within the excavated ground from which they differ also in location.

Within the ground enclosed by Walls 11—12, 20—22, two different layers are to be distinguished: a lower one with Walls 14—18 and an upper one with Walls 20—22, and 26—33. The walls in these separate layers differ also in location, so that the walls of the lower layer extend in E. W. and N. S. direction respectively, while the upper walls are oriented in more N. W. and S. E. direction.

Hence, it appears evident, that there are two separate buildings, belonging to different periods. The walls of the lower layer (14—18) diverging from those of the upper one, enclose a rectangular ground (Room II), which, on the E., was accessible by the Stair 157. Excepting a short distance between Walls 17 and 18, all these walls are bonded with each other, and, accordingly, must belong to the same period of building. The W. parts of Walls 14 and 18, however, are destroyed and broken off, for which reason the boundary to the W. of the rectangular area cannot be stated for the present.

Walls 19—22 are bonded with each other and therefore must be contemporaneous. To the same building period must also be assigned the Water-conduit 167 and the Basins 169 and 170, since they are bonded with these walls. These enclose another rectangular space of considerably larger surface, Rooms VI, XIX, and XX, within which Walls 26—28, 29—37 are situated and orientated along the above mentioned walls. As Wall 26 is built against Wall 20 and partly hides its painted stucco covering, this wall ought to be a later addition. As Walls 27 and 28 are bonded with Wall 26 and together with this form a wall-conduit, these too must belong to a subsequent period in relation to Wall 20. Concerning Walls 29—33, it has already been shown in the description, that they form a support for a line of columns. They are partly built upon the ruined Wall 14, and must therefore belong to a period when this had ceased to fill its original function. The other line of bases 34—37, is parallel with Wall 20. The bases have no direct connexion with other walls, and as they are within the ground enclosed by Walls 14—18, one might think that they belong to their period but this is not the case. The fact is that the walls have a floor which, at least in certain places, it has been possible to point out. Another floor-level has been observed above the preceding one belonging to the upper wall-system. As the bases, which are of a supporting character, are situated between the two floor-levels it must be supposed that they belong to the upper and later system. Their place in this system will be explained below. Concerning the walls of Room X, several epochs can be pointed out. The N. wall is constituted by a part of Wall 20. Also Wall 23 seems to have been constructed (cf. p. 31) in connexion with the building of this wall, it being covered inside with the same sort of finishing coat as Wall 20. As this finishing coat continues behind Wall 24 A the latter wall seems to be an enlargement subsequently added. Yet Wall 24 A is on the N. E. side covered with plaster, which is partly hidden by Wall 24 B wherefore this seems to belong to a further additional enlarge-





Fig. 43. Soli. Western portion of Temples B and C, seen from the north.



Fig. 44. Soli. Temple C from the south. Walls 10 and 53 uncovered below the floor of Room XVI.

ment. Walls 23 and 24 B have hereby been provided with painting in the same pattern. As to Wall 25, it is bonded with Wall 24 A, and consequently must belong to the same period as this. The wall-pier in the N. W. corner will surely belong to the same period, as similar piers form parts of Walls 24 A and 25 in remaining corners of Room X. These walls thus, together with Walls 23 and 20, came to form Room X, whereby Stair 160 was necessary to connect the room with the ground E. of it. As the substructure of this stair in the N. part is bonded with Wall 26, Walls 26—28 seem to be constructed at the same time as Walls 24 A and 25. In line with the first mentioned wall also, lie the column-bases Nos. 34—37 for which reason these, too, must be assigned to the same, or a later period. Probably also the Altar No. 146 belongs to this building-period, as its form, evidently, has been determined with regard to the existence of Wall 24 A. The outer edge of the altar is bonded with Wall 13, and consequently the whole section (Wall 13 with Stair 159) may be ascribed to the same time.

N. of Wall 8 Room XII is added. As its walls abut against Wall 8 and as its floor lies on a relatively high level this part to a certainty, must be an addition to Room V. It may possibly belong to the same building-period as Wall 24 A and the Altar 146, as the same cement mortar is used on these places but is not met with elsewhere excepting in a portion of Wall 21, where we may have to do with an accidental repair from the aforementioned time.

Within the ground south of Room V, enclosed by Walls 45—52, two quite separate layers with two different floor-levels are to be distinguished. The lower of these layers is sunk in a cavity in the rock, the edges of which are supported by Walls 10 and 54. Of Wall 10, its lower part 10 A is bonded with Wall 54 and partly with Wall 51, while its upper part abuts against Wall 52 which is built above Wall 51, and belongs to the top layer. Hence it follows that at least part 10 A of the wall may belong to the bottom-layer. As Wall 53 is bonded with Wall 54 as well as with Wall 51, this wall too must be assigned to the lower layer. Consequently a whole room (XV) has been enclosed by four walls belonging to the lower layer with a floor at level 112.0. One more room situated south of it may have been contemporary with Room XV, but of this only a part to the north is preserved (Room XIV).

The walls of the top layer are easy to distinguish. They are all bonded with one another, excepting Wall 48, which for other reasons must be put in the same period. Walls 45—49 and the west part of 50 have all the inside covered with the same sort of plaster. This is, however, lacking on Wall 50 east part, and on Wall 52 which fact is easily accounted for, because these walls function as supports of a court-terrace and, accordingly, have had their inside under ground. The part that has been above the upper floor-level is not preserved.

The development of the alterations made in this part of the excavated ground has been as follows:

In a cavity in the rock, a block of rooms is formed, to which belong Walls 10, 51, 53, and 54 and with a floor-level at 112.0. This block of rooms is later demolished, levelled, and filled up to a level corresponding with the level of the rock north and west of the rooms or 125.0. Upon this level another somewhat sloping floor is planned, limited by Walls 45,





Fig. 45. Soli. In front, Stair 161 leading to the courtyard, Room XVI; above, Stair 162 leading to the *cella* of Temple C. To the right, the *cella* of Temple B.

48—50, and 52, and in connexion with this, on the west, Room XVIII is constructed. To carry out this work, the levelling of Wall 9 and Wall 10 B to the same level is found necessary. The limit between the earlier described space south of Room IV (Room XIV and Room XV), and the one now treated is then removed about 3.50 m. to the north, to Wall 45. This measure seems to have been occasioned by the desire of getting accommodation for a direct passage between Room XIX and Room XVI. This want is provided for of Stair 161, which in this connexion, is built against Wall 11 partly concealing its plaster-covering on the E. face. 2.5 m. E. of Walls 48 and 49 are two bases of columns placed symmetrically.

South-east of the now described area is another space in the angle between Walls 51—52, and 22. Here, too, two different layers are to be observed. At the bottom of the rock, which is situated at the level 98.0, the wall-system 56—58 was found. The walls with the floor at the level 102.0 are remains of blocks of rooms completely demolished, and in subsequent times reduced to the level 105.5 where a second earthen floor was found. On the same level are also founded walls which belong to this floor (Walls 64—66). This block of rooms forms the architecture of the top layer within this space, and shows a rectangular room with the entrance through Wall 22.

In the description of the walls, it has already been established that Walls 67—73 consist of two clearly distinguishable parts: a lower part founded on the rock, and a narrower one built upon the former. These walls enclose the two rooms XXXIV and XXXV. A corresponding division into a lower layer of walls and an upper one can also be perceived to the south and east of these rooms. The walls in question are not bonded with other walls. On the contrary Walls 88 and 98 abut upon Wall 67. These walls, in their turn are connected with Wall 89 which to the south bounds a space situated east of Rooms XXXIV and XXXV. Their limit on the north is constituted by Wall 92, which is of the same construction as Wall 89, and on the east by Walls 90—91. Walls 88—92, consequently, belong to a common building to which also can be referred Walls 93—97, symmetrically built on both sides of Stair 165 and bonded with this and Walls 89 and 92. Walls 89—92 have all on the inner face a break, marking the floor-level of Room XLIII between Walls 89—92. This floor-level marks the level of the upper layer. Under this level, another system of walls was found resting on the rock, the upper level of which has been cut down to the upper floor-level which slopes to the east.

These walls are Walls 74—82 with Stairs 163 and 164; further Walls 83—87. Among these walls, Nos. 78—81 are coherent, and of the same character, in consequence of which they must have been built contemporaneously. The direct continuity between Walls 81 and 82, is for technical reasons impossible to point out, as subsequent alterations have destroyed the real corner of the walls. It will, however, be clear from the following that Wall 82 must also belong to the same building.

Wall 78 abuts on Wall-corner 76—77, and has its direct continuation in Wall 76, which, consequently ought to have replaced the western portion of Wall 78; it has thus entered the same building as the just named Walls 78—82. The space here enclosed is then bounded on the north-east and south. Its limit to the west seems to be constituted by Wall 74, which also belongs to the bottom layer of the walls. This wall disappears below Wall 92, and, to a certainty has been bonded with Wall 82. On the other hand, Wall 74 by means of a couple of buttresses is connected with the lower parts of the system of Walls 67—73. We consequently find that in front of the two Rooms XXXIV and XXXV lies an irregular, but mainly rectangular space bounded on all sides by walls belonging to the bottom layer of the walls within this part of the excavation. To the same building also, Walls 83—84 may be referred, as being orientated in agreement with Wall 79. They limit Room XXX situated E. of the rectangular space in question and have been built over by Walls 90—91 and Stair 165. The remaining walls belonging to the bottom layer, are Walls 85—87. They are built in two stages, as appears from the description of the walls. They have been levelled just to the upper floor-level and overbuilt by Walls 88, 89, 98, and others of the upper level.

These walls probably constitute the north parts of a building, the rest of which was not examined, and which extends to the south of the investigated territory. Possibly this building is connected with the block of rooms formed by Walls 76—77 at the foundation of which the west part of the original Wall 78 has been demolished, and the connexion between this and Wall 74, lost.





Fig. 46. Soli. General view of Temple E, from the east.



Fig. 47. Soli. General view of Temple E, from the west.

We go on to the walls of the top layer which in the clearest manner differ from those of the bottom layer in the south-west part. Here Wall 88 abuts against Wall 67, which is partly built over by this wall. Wall 88 is, in its turn, bonded with Wall 89, which through bonds and otherwise is connected with Walls 90—97 and the Stair 165. These walls enclose on three sides, a symmetrical building which moreover is limited on the west by Rooms XXXIV and XXXV.

In these circumstances, Walls 88—97 must be put with the upper parts of Walls 67—73, as brought about in one single connexion. Apart from the walls of the bottom layer, we obtain a closed building of the following appearance: on the west, three closed rooms beside one another, the middlemost one being of a somewhat larger size. To the east of these three rooms, is a rectangular space or court bounded by Walls 89—92, and further to the east of this the two Rooms XLI and XLII built symmetrically on either side of the large Stair 165, on the middle axis of the building bounded by the thick, solid Walls 94—97.

We now turn to the large, central space examining, still without taking into consideration the walls of the bottom layer, the system of walls, which is here distinguished: — Parallel to Walls 72—73, 98 runs Wall 103. It is bonded with no other wall. It rests on the rock unlike all the other walls which abut against it, and which are placed on debris. Symmetrically and in the prolongation of the wall lie on both sides Walls 100 and 104, the former connecting Wall 103 with Wall 89, the latter with Wall 92. These three walls, consequently, extend across the rectangular room parallel to Walls 72—73, 98. At right angles to Wall 103 run, towards the east, Walls 107 and 108 which are parallel to each other. In connexion with this system of walls are also Walls 105 and 106 abutting against Wall 104. All these walls can be divided into two kinds: on one side Wall 103, placed on the rock, on the other side, the remaining walls, which, in spite of being situated near the rock, are founded on debris. This fact seems to indicate that we have to do with two different periods; for if Wall 103 and Wall 104 were constructed at the same time, they ought to have been built without interruption of the bond and with the same construction. Then Wall 103 must be the original one, against which the others were built at a later time. Wall 103, however, must have been founded later than Wall 74 and the Stair 164, or else it would have blocked up the whole stair. To the group of the upper walls also belong Walls 99, 101, and 102, of which the last two are placed on loose earth.

Walls 109—113 form together with Wall 89, a closed room built on a comparatively high level. Also Walls 117—121 form together a closed unit, loosely connected with the remaining blocks of rooms by Walls 114—116.

Another closed space is bounded by Walls 123—125 being bonded with each other and built against Wall 92. These walls enclose a rectangular ground within which two different layers of walls are to be observed, separated by a floor at level 101.0.

The walls belonging to the lower system have all been levelled off for this floor and, consequently, they must be ascribed to an earlier period than the walls of the upper system. Only fragments of the lower walls are preserved and what remains is not sufficient for any





Fig. 48. Soli. View of the interior of Temple F, from the east. The floor of Room LIV is removed so that Walls 59—63 are visible.

certain conclusions. Wall 59, however, is aligned with Wall 58 mentioned above and therefore should be considered as a continuation of this and belonging to the same building. As the solid rock within the area between Walls 92 and 22 is found on a much lower level than on either side of them, this building cannot have extended much further outside the present Rooms LIV—LVI. The western limit of the building seems to be at Wall 57. Two small parts of Rooms L—LIII are preserved for exact determinations of the rooms. The system of walls belonging to the floor at level 101.0 shows a much better state of preservation. The exterior Walls 123—125 are all founded on the solid rock. Inside the walls, there are two angular benches running parallel to the walls of the rectangular room. The benches are constructed with thin shells of rubble with a filling of *chavara*. At the northern corner of the room, Cistern 172 is joined to the northern bench. At the southern corner, the Stair 166 connects the floor of Room LIV at level 101.0 with the floor of Room XLIII C at level 109.0. The room is accessible from the east by means of an entrance through a short corridor. The axiality and symmetry of this room is apparent. It is still more accentuated by the apse in Wall 123, which faces the entrance through Wall 125.

The connexion between Room LIV and Room XLIII can be studied at two points:





Fig. 49. Soli. Western portions of Temples F (in the fore-ground) and E (in the back-ground) seen from the north-east.

Wall 123 abuts against Wall 92; on the other hand Wall 125 is partly built on top of Wall 92, in a way which seems to show that the entire corner between Walls 92—91—125 and the eastern portion of Wall 92 was repaired contemporaneously with the building of the construction enclosed by Walls 123—125. In any case this construction must be of a later date than Room XLIII. This is confirmed by the conditions in connexion with the entrance to Room LIV. This entrance has evidently been laid out in consideration of the extension of Room XLII and Wall 97, which at the same time forms the south wall of the corridor in front of the entrance.

#### ARCHITECTURAL SYNTHESIS

In taking into consideration the architectural remains of the various building periods, we leave out structures connected with the tombs excavated in the rock in the north-eastern part of the area investigated. These walls can in no way be ascribed to any of the other constructions and the remains of the walls are so fragmentary that nothing can be ascertained as to the nature of the structure to which they belonged.



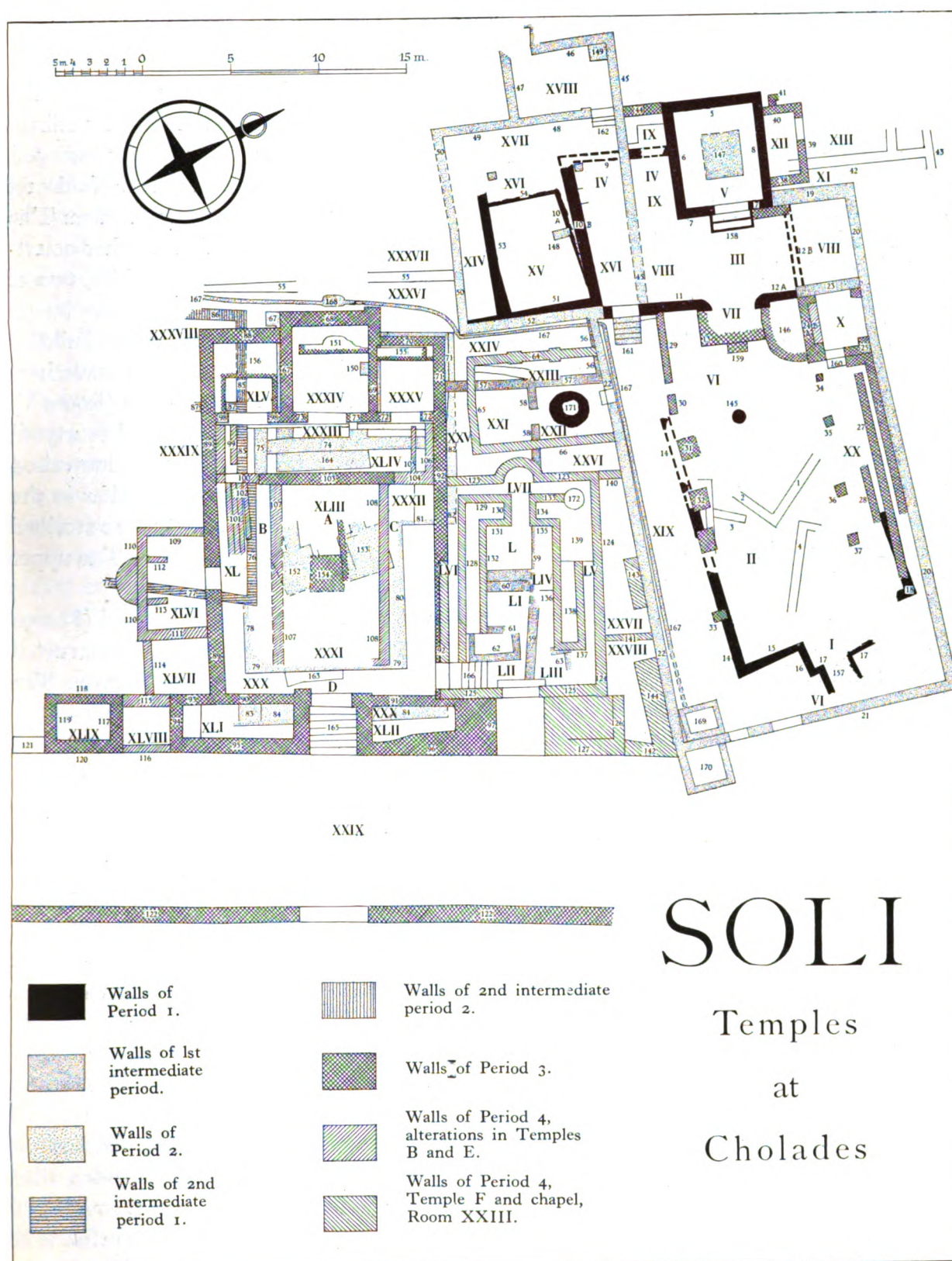


Fig. 50. Soli. Analytical plan of the temples.

## Period 1.

*Temple A.* The plan of the first construction can be explained as follows: A rectangular courtyard (Room II) was entered from the east by means of Stair 157 and the small vestibule (Room I). The western parts of the sidewalls of this rectangular courtyard are not preserved, having been demolished in connexion with subsequent alterations on the plan. No doubt the walls once extended as far as Walls 11 and 12 A and were connected with them. The gate through the walls mentioned leads up to a higher terrace on which another courtyard is situated. This is irregular in shape and was well defined by walls on all sides, two of them being removed subsequently. Into this courtyard (Rooms III and IV) a square building projects at the north corner, thus giving the courtyard an angular form. The building (Room V) is entered from the south-east by means of a stair (158). As the finds made here prove that the whole construction must be a temple, we thus find a temple-*cella* (Room V) which opens on to an upper courtyard (Room III). East of this, there is a second courtyard on a lower level. Near the middle of the lower courtyard there was probably an altar raised on the axis of the court and facing the entrance. Whether or not there was an altar in the *cella* during this period, remains uncertain, for the altar marked on the plan must be ascribed to a later period. The west-east orientation of the lower courtyard may be noted. The upper courtyard with the *cella* diverges slightly from this axis.

On a much lower level, there was an other structure south of the upper courtyard (Rooms XIV and XV). Due to the conditions of bonds etc., this building, though not constructed on the solid rock, must be of contemporary date to the building described above. The complete extent of the building cannot be ascertained, nor can it be stated whether it was connected with the courtyard Room IV, by means of a stair. The walls of the two rooms had probably been destroyed purposely when the house was filled in, at a later period.

## Period 2.

*Temple B.* In a subsequent period the whole of this area was entirely rebuilt. In general the system of the first construction was adopted when planning the new building. But the lower courtyard was enlarged and the upper one was altered as to its extent. The *cella* (Room V) remained as before the alterations, and there are no signs of destruction or rebuildings. The construction south of the upper courtyard was filled in, and a new temple was constructed above it, partly built in with the other new construction. The particulars of the alterations were as follows: the whole of the lower courtyard (Rooms I and II) was filled in and its boundary walls levelled to the floor of the new courtyard. The boundary walls of this were placed outside the old ones so that the new court became considerably larger. The orientation of the new courtyard is more or less brought into line with that of the *cella* (Room V), though the walls diverge slightly. The entrance into the courtyard is from the east, but is not in the middle of the wall; it is placed to the south, so that it is on the same axis as the *cella* entrance, and the gate between the two courtyards. Obviously



the axiality plays a great role in this construction as well as in some others within the excavated area. The new lower courtyard, Room VI, extends up to the boundary or terrace wall of the upper courtyard. Probably the difference of level between the two courtyards was connected, as in Period 1, by means of a short ramp leading up between Walls 11 and 12 A. The shape of the upper court was also changed. Its northern boundary was aligned with the north wall of the lower court. This long, straight wall was connected with the *cella* and with the terrace wall (12 A) by means of walls. Thus the north portion of the upper court was enclosed on three sides. On the opposite side, the old south wall of the courtyard was levelled. A new wall (45) was laid out some 3.60 metres north of the other, and parallel to the sides of the *cella*. In this way there arose a narrow passage between the *cella* and the new wall which may have been closed by means of wooden doors. Possibly the altar in the *cella* (Room V) should be ascribed to this building period.

*Temple C.* The new construction south of the *cella* consisted of a square courtyard behind which another *cella* (Room XVIII) was placed. The entrance to the courtyard is connected by means of a stair (161) from the lower court of the temple B. This, consequently, is common to both the new constructions, and in Wall 21, close to the entrance to the temple B with the *cella*, Room V, there is also another entrance which must be considered as being for Temple C with the *cella*, Room XVIII. Again we note a certain striving towards the axiality as to the entrances and the altar: the wall (45) which separates the two upper courtyards (VIII—IX and XVI—XVII) was removed to the north just sufficiently to give place for the entrance above Stair 161. The southern entrance through Wall 21 is also fixed as to its situation (it should have been placed in the corner but was removed slightly to the north because of the Cisterns 169 and 170). The rule of axiality caused the queer placing of the entrance to the *cella*, (XVIII) to the north-east corner of the room, and the altar to the north-west corner just in front of the entrance. As far as possible the three entrances and the altar were placed on the same axis in spite of the great difficulties caused by the surrounding architecture and the ground in general. At the rear of the square courtyard (Room XVI) there are two bases for columns, placed symmetrically at a distance of 2.50 metres from the rear wall. The columns, evidently served as supports for a roof above this part of the courtyard, the rest of it being open. Near the middle of the courtyard are some remains of an altar (148). The Water-conduit 167 must be ascribed to this building period as it is bonded to Walls 52 and 22. The way in which it comes through the latter wall at its west end confirms this. The conduit terminates in Cisterns 169 and 170, which also are ascribed to the same epoch of building.

*Temple D.* The water-conduit is evidently laid out with consideration to the great block of buildings in the southern part of the excavated area. At the narrow passage between Rooms XVI and XXXV, where the conduit turns round the corner of the latter, it is bonded to the exterior of Wall 71 A. This shows, as is confirmed elsewhere, that a building south of the conduit was constructed at about the same period as the Temples B and C, described above. The planning of this building, which can also be identified as a temple, shows many features common with the others. From the east, a stair (163) leads up to an open courtyard

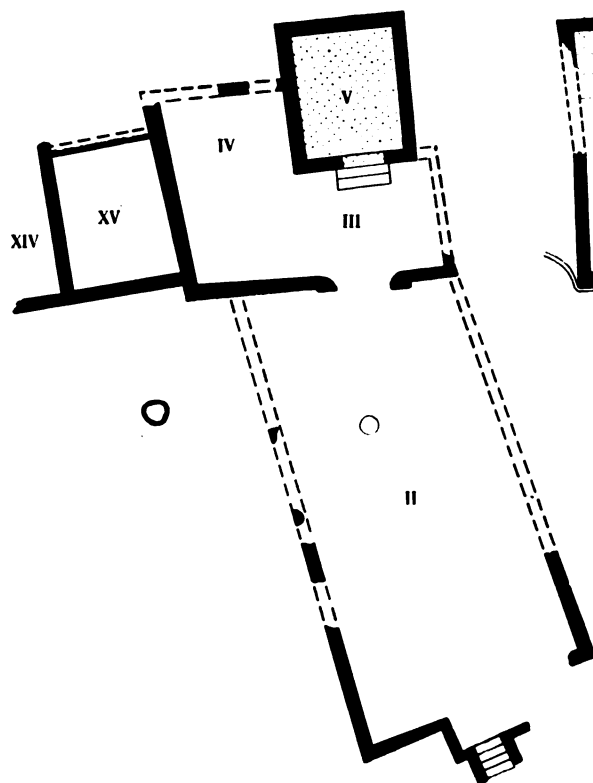


Fig. 51. Soli. Plan of Temple A (Period 1).

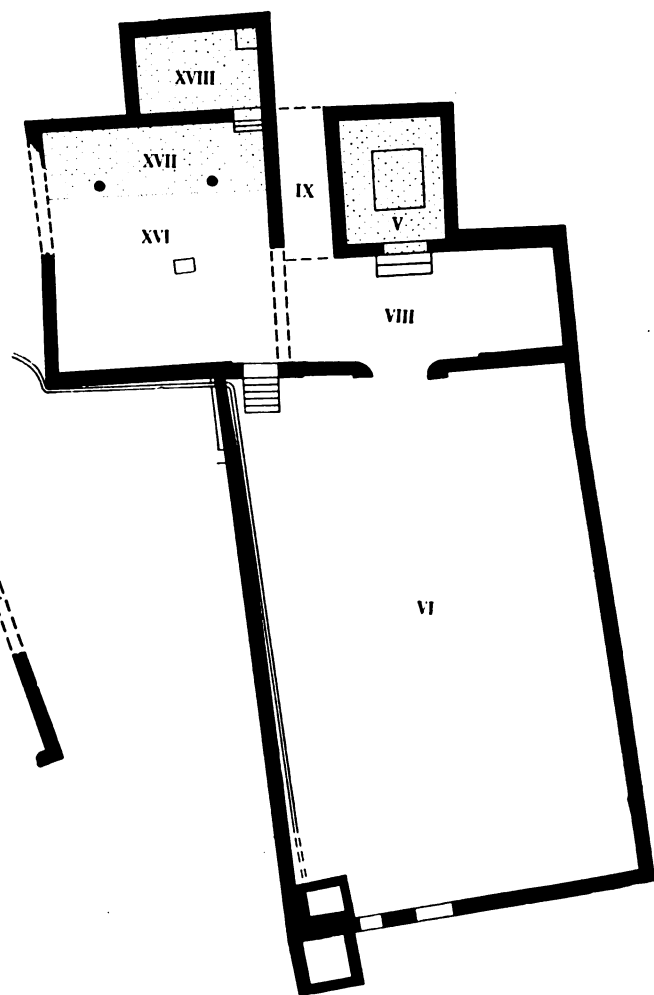


Fig. 52. Soli. Original plan of Temples B and C (Period 2).

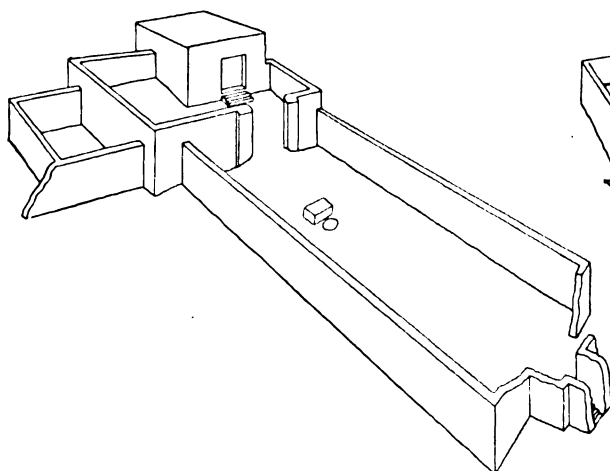


Fig. 53. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temple A (Period 1).

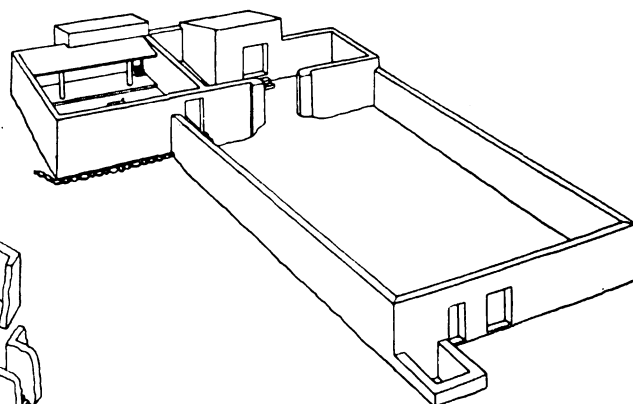


Fig. 54. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temples B and C (Period 2).

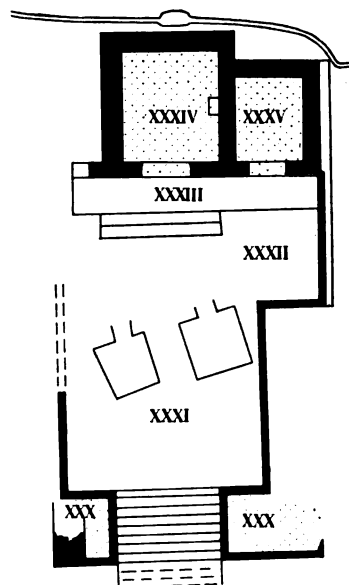
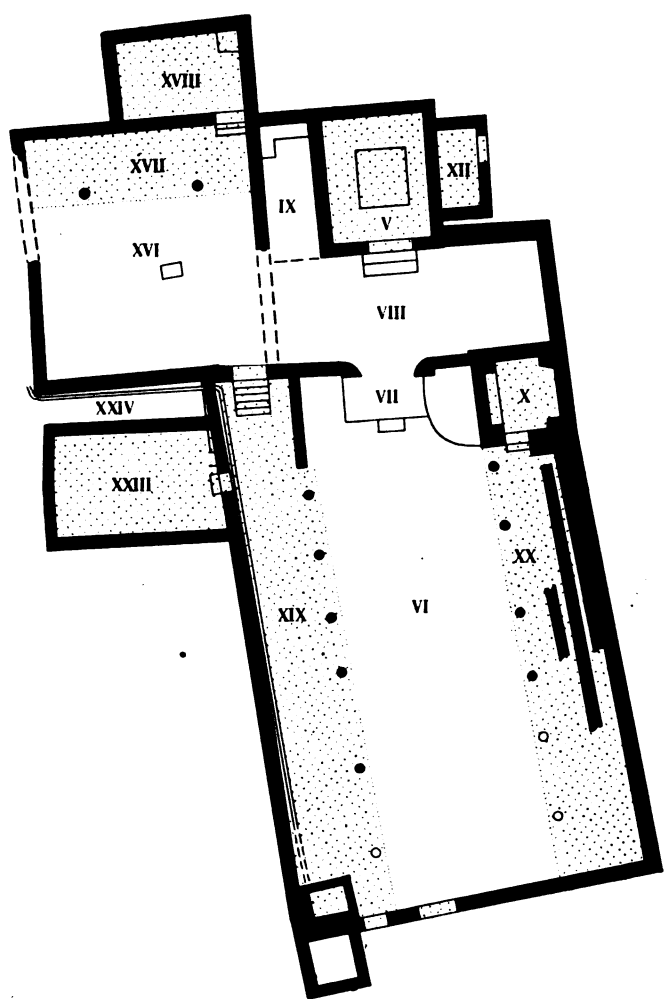


Fig. 55. Soli. Altered plan of Temples B and C (Period 4?)

Fig. 56. Soli. Plan of Temple D (Period 2).

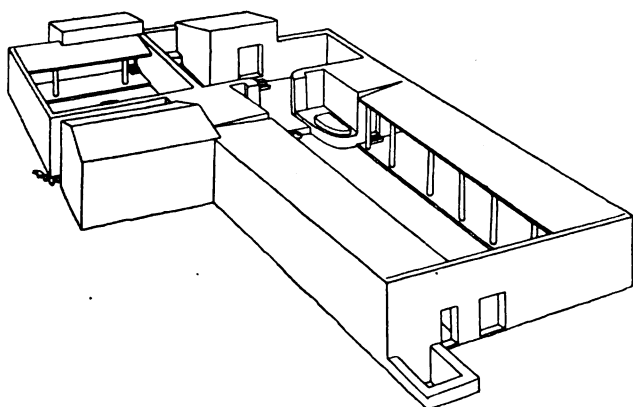


Fig. 57. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temples B and C with subsequent alterations (Period 4?)

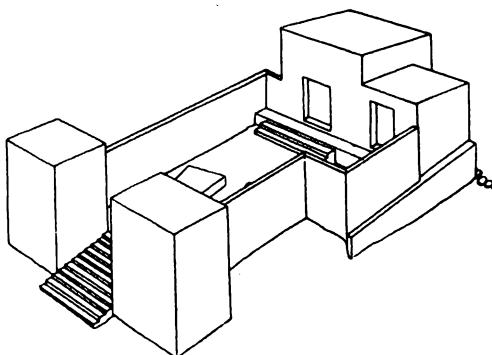
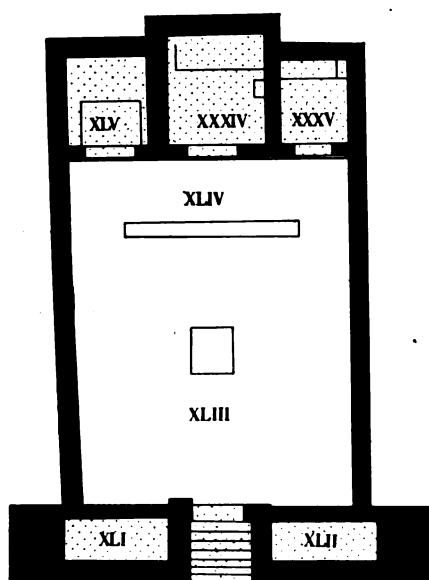


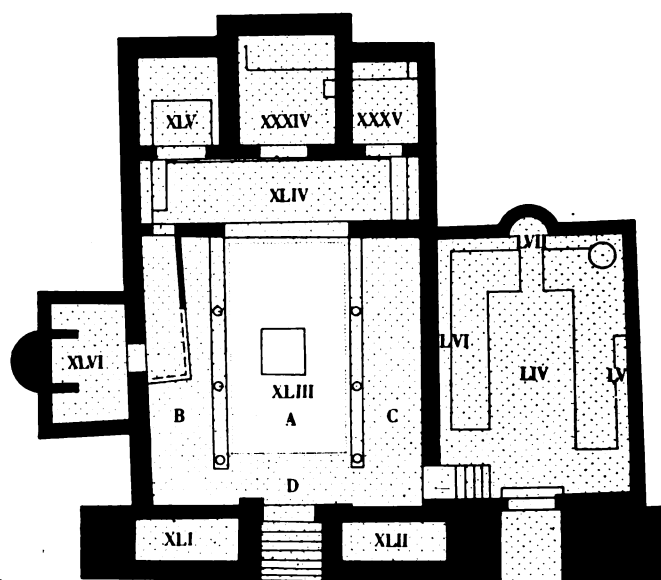
Fig. 58. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temple D (Period 2).





XXIX

Fig. 59. Soli. Original plan of Temple E (Period 3).



XXIX

Fig. 60. Soli. Plan of Temples E and F as in Period 4.

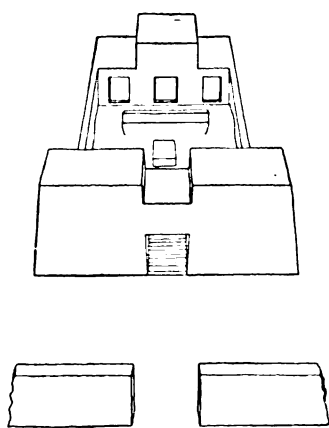


Fig. 61. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temple E (Period 3).

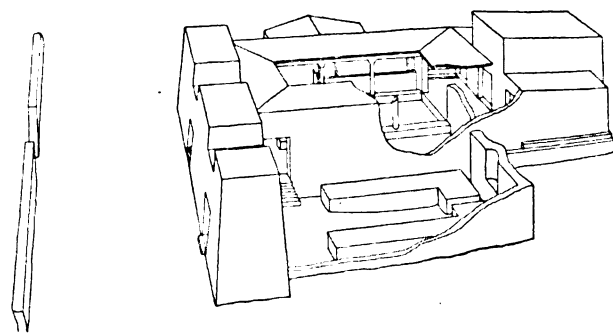


Fig. 62. Soli. Reconstructed sketch of Temples E and F as in Period 4.

(Rooms XXXI and XXXII). This is somewhat irregular in shape and is laid out in accordance with the natural rock-plateau. At the rear of the court there is a wide stair (164) which leads up to a narrow terrace in front of two *cellae* (Rooms XXXIV and XXXV). In front of the entrance to the courtyard, there are traces of a sort of towers the nature of which cannot be determined as the remains are very scanty. Near the middle of the courtyard some traces of two altars are preserved. They are orientated in east-west direction.

### Period 3.

*Temple E.* The temple D must have been almost totally destroyed and afterwards some buildings were constructed just west of it (cf. below, the Second intermediate period). As two separate building periods can be distinguished in these constructions it seems natural to suppose that some time had elapsed between the destruction of the old temple and its rebuilding partly on the old foundations. The new temple is constructed in accordance with symmetrical principles. The foundations of the old temple *cellae* were re-used and, south-west of Room XXXIV, a third *cella*, Room XLV, was added symmetrically to Room XXXV. This new tripartite construction constitutes the rear of a rectangular courtyard which is of larger size than the court of the first temple. Exactly on the long axis of this building is the entrance to the court, flanked by constructions which most likely should be reconstructed as towers on either side of the entrance. These extend partly beyond the width of the courtyard. Outside these towers there was a second courtyard (Room XXIX) extending in front of the whole temple. This lower courtyard was bounded by a retaining terrace wall (122) parallel to the façade of the temple, and provided with an entrance on the same middle axis. At the rear of the upper courtyard, just in front of the middle *cella* (Room XXXIV) there was a small terrace held by a retaining wall (103). It corresponds to the terrace in front of the two *cellae* of the first temple, Wall 74. In the middle of the rectangular courtyard there was an altar on the axis of the middle *cella*. This is the plan of the new temple as it was built originally. The alterations which can be demonstrated must be ascribed to a subsequent period.

### Period 4.

*Alterations in Temple E.* The additions to the original construction of Temple E have been distinguished above as being of a subsequent character. The terrace in front of the three *cellae*, and the courtyard in front of this were partly roofed in. On either side of the terrace, short benches are built along the side walls of the temple, extending in front of the entrances into the side *cellae*. The corresponding parts of the terrace were enclosed with walls (100 and 104) against the side portions of the courtyard. On the southern side, Wall 100 was provided with a door, the threshold of which is partly preserved, which opens on to a wooden floor supported by Walls 101 and 102. The floor is laid out along the side wall of the courtyard and leads to a doorway through Wall 89 at the side of the courtyard. By

means of the doorway a small chapel outside the wall is entered. This chapel, too, which is provided with an apse opposite the door, is a later addition to the original building. In the middle of the courtyard, on either side of the central altar walls were built which are of such a weak construction that it hardly can be possible that they once extended to the same height as the side walls of the courtyard. They are founded on debris above the rock and are preserved to a low height. The nature of the walls can not be explained otherwise than as a foundation for rows of columns, possibly of wood, which supported a roof along the insides of the courtyard. It is true that none of the bases proper were preserved, but no other explanations of the walls can be found. That this is right is confirmed by similar alterations on either side of the lower courtyard of the temple B (cf. below).

*Temple F.* Another addition to the Temple E, which should be dated to the same period as the roofing in of the courtyard, constitutes the temple F, constructed against the northern long wall of the courtyard of Temple E. This wall was partly destroyed and rebuilt in connexion with the temple mentioned. This is of quite another type to the previously described constructions which all are built in accordance with similar principles: one — three *cellae* at the rear of a courtyard. The Temple F must have been roofed entirely. It is rectangular in shape and provided with an entrance passage to the east between solidly constructed towers, the southern one being the same as the northern tower of Temple E. The entrance is placed on the long axis of the building. In the rear wall, is a small apse, and on either side of the long axis, the benches. Temple F is connected with Temple E by means of a stair in the southern angle of the room.

*Alterations in Temple B.* An interesting agreement exists between the subsequent alterations of Temples E and B. Whether the rebuilding should be dated to exactly the same period or not remains uncertain, but they are marked in the same way on the analytical plan in order to avoid too many titles. The sides of the lower courtyard of Temple B are roofed in as in Temple E. Here, however, the foundations for the bases are preserved along two lines parallel to the sides of the court. It may be noted that there is no symmetry as to the position of the bases, *i. e.* the columns of the one side do not correspond to those of the other as columns usually do on either side of the central nave of a church. In Temple B the conditions are probably to be explained as two porticos independent of each other. The southern portico leads up to Stair 161, *i. e.* the entrance into the Temple C, while the northern portico leads to a small square chamber (Room X) which was constructed in the northern corner of the courtyard. The meaning of the long Walls 26—28 in this portico remains uncertain. South-west of the Room X a round altar was erected outside the wall and in connexion with this, the gate between the two courtyards of the temple was altered with the small stair (159) as described above. To this temple, too, some new chapels were added, the largest one being Room XXIII with the entrance through the south wall of the courtyard. The position of this reminds one of the small chapel, Room XLVI of Temple E. To the north of the *cella* of Temple B another room, possibly a temple *cella*, was constructed. Probably this belongs to a temple, the rest of which was not found. The passage, Room IX,



which originally might have been closed by a wooden door, was blocked up entirely in a subsequent period. The upper courtyard thus became closed on all sides.

#### First intermediate period.

In this synthetical description of the temples and their development, the remnants of some other constructions which cannot be brought into direct connexion with the temples have been omitted. On account of their position, they can be divided into two groups which are separated as well on local as on chronological grounds. The earliest group of walls is to be found in the deep area between Temples B and E, partly extending under the floors of Temple F, and Room XXIII. As the floors of this construction (Rooms XXI and XXII) cover the well (171) which belongs to Period 1, the construction must be later than this. On the other hand Wall 57 extends under Walls 71 and 22 which shows that it must be earlier than the Temples B and D. Chronologically this first intermediate period, therefore, must be placed between Period 1 and Period 2.

#### Second intermediate period.

The second system of walls which was omitted is found in the south-west portion of the area investigated. To this Walls 76—77 and 85—87 belong. It has previously been pointed out that all these walls must be of a later date than the walls of Temple D. This is clearly ascertained by the stratification as well as by the bonds of the walls. On the other hand the walls have been levelled off in order to give place for Temple E. This shows that the second intermediate period should be placed between the destruction of Temple D and the building of Temple E.

Summing up the main features of the various temple plans of the different periods, we see, in the first period, a rather loose connexion between the *cella* and the irregular courtyards in front of it. The lower courtyard is oriented in an east-west direction while the upper courtyard and the *cella* diverge slightly from this axis. In Period 2 (Temples B, C, and D) the shape of the temples is still rather irregular, though the connexion between *cellae* and courts is much closer. A certain tendency to mark the rear of the upper court is noticed. Thus Temple C has a roofed-in portico in front of the *cella* while Temple D has a small ledge with a stair to the court. In the third period, Temple E is constructed with the *cellae* and the court built together to a closed unit. Axiality and symmetry are features clearly expressed in this building. In Period 4, two of the courtyards are more or less roofed in, while several closed chapels are built, among them Temple F. The development from open courts, connected with one or more *cellae*, to the closed, roofed-in building is undeniable as to these temples. This is true also as to the development from a construction with well separated architectural elements to a building of which the various details and portions are, though distinguishable, worked into a close building with a simplified exterior outline.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLES

The reconstruction of the various temples has already been discussed in connexion with the chapters on the architectural analysis and synthesis. A few words may be added here on a couple of questions which may deserve some further explanation.

*Temple A.*

In the reconstruction of this temple, the remains are too scanty for any safe conclusions. It seems, however, impossible to doubt that the temple *cella* (Room V) was roofed. The courtyards were certainly open, but possibly the gate into the lower courtyard should be reconstructed with a roof. Whether the construction south of the upper courtyard was roofed, too, remains uncertain, but most likely this was the case as the room was rather small and closed in on all sides. (Fig. 53).

*Temple B.*

The reconstruction of the first building of Temple B also remains uncertain. The absence of any kind of supports in the lower courtyard indicates that the court was open. There are no signs which allow us to reconstruct the upper courtyard otherwise. The *cella* was certainly roofed. This is ascertained on account of the many fragments of roofing-tiles which were found in the *cella*, and in front of its entrance. The original height of the walls of the courtyard should most likely be reconstructed in accordance with boundary walls of modern gardens. The exact height of the *cella* cannot be stated, but it may be reconstructed as an ordinary country house in Cyprus. The roofing of the houses with tiles, however, does not allow a reconstruction with flat roof. The roof must slope at least 10—15° in accordance with modern principles of building in Cyprus. Supposing that the slope was arranged in the same way as in modern houses, it was lower at the back of the building, which is also the most convenient way of avoiding the rainwater coming in at the front of the house. (Fig. 54).

A similar reconstruction may be suggested for Room X. Here, however, the conditions are more complicated as also the sides of the lower courtyard subsequently were roofed in as has been described. Room XXIII must also have been roofed, to judge from the many fragments of roofing-tiles which were found on the floor of this room. Perhaps a gabled roof would be the most natural construction here. (Fig. 57).

*Temple C.*

The roof of the temple *cella* (Room XVIII) should best be reconstructed as the *cella* of Temple B. The two column bases on the courtyard in front of the *cella* indicate that the rear of the court was provided with a roof, supported by the columns. This portico may be reconstructed in a very simple way, probably as the small veranda in front of modern Cypriote peasant's house. The height of the columns, it is of course, impossible to state. It seems, however, to be natural to suppose that the fragment of a column found at the side of Stair 162 should be connected with the supports for the portico (Figs. 14 and 54).

*Temple D.*

The reconstruction of this temple may be made in accordance with the previous ones. The temple *cellae* must have been roofed and the courtyard open. There exists no material for other conclusions in this question. As to the entrance into the courtyard, however, and the reconstruction of the remnants in connexion with this it must be admitted that nothing can be stated with certainty, as the walls are preserved in such a bad state. There seems to be traces of flanking constructions on either side of the wide stair, but whether these are of the same nature as the suggested flanking towers in Temple E, or if they should be reconstructed otherwise, remains uncertain. Most likely, however, in consideration to the superimposed entrance of Temple E, there has been some kind of buildings on either side of the stair. How they were roofed is impossible to state, nor can it be cleared if the stair was provided with a superstructure, or if it had only a roof or if it was entirely open. The terrace or ledge at the rear of the courtyard is supposed to have been open as no remains of a roof or supports for the same are preserved. (Fig. 58.)

*Temple E.*

This temple, as it was constructed originally may have had the three temple *cellae* closed while the courtyard was uncovered. The question here is the reconstruction of the solid buildings on either side of the stair up to the courtyard (Rooms XLI and XLII). How are these to be explained? Evidently, they form a symmetrical façade of the temple against the courtyard, Room XXIX. The foundations are very solid and the outer short walls are strengthened by means of an unusual thickness. In spite of the wall being preserved to some height no floor could be discovered in any of the Rooms XLI and XLII. Nor were any entrances of the rooms to be found. All these circumstances make a reconstruction of this façade in the shape of an Egyptian gate (pylon) probable, as we know them from many Egyptian temples. Certainly the gate of Temple E must have been on a very modest scale in comparison with the Egyptian constructions but the peculiar features and similarities as regards the plan cannot be denied. For a further discussion of this matter reference is given to the chapter on the foreign relations of the architecture. (Fig. 61).

The alterations made in a subsequent period in Temple E, are comparatively easy to reconstruct, as we have all the foundations of the added walls preserved. The eastern gate and the *cellae* remained as before, whereas the small terrace in front of the *cellae* certainly was roofed in. The new walls at the ends of the terrace (Walls 100 and 104) are preserved to a height superior to the terrace itself, which shows that the walls in question really constituted screens between the ends of the terrace and the sides of the courtyard. The roof may be reconstructed as on the portico of Temple C, or sloping towards the court. The southern wall (100) was provided with a door opening out to a narrow passage which also might have been closed against the court by Wall 102. The floor of the passage is situated on a level slightly above the floor of the courtyard. Perhaps Wall 100 should not be reconstructed as a high wall but as some kind of fence, separating the passage from the court. There is no evidence to show which is the right suggestion. The



width of the doorway into the chapel, Room XLVI, cannot be stated with certainty nor can the exact extent of the passage be fixed. The chapel, Room XLVI, must have been roofed. The small size of the room indicates this, but it seems safer not to make any suggestion as to the nature of the roof. It cannot possibly have sloped towards the south-west as the apse would cause some difficulties. Perhaps a gable-roof would be the most natural solution in this case. The steps at the ends of the main terrace may need some explanation. They are too big to be explained as stairs and, besides, to what would such stairs lead? Apparently they are benches or seats on either side of the terrace hidden from the courtyard by the Walls 100 and 104.

Now, we come to the roof of the courtyard. It must be pointed out at once that there are no traces of columns or supports of any kind for a roof, but still, there may be no other interpretation of the conditions, possible. Wall 103 has never been much higher than at present, which is confirmed by the fact that the elevation of the upper surface of the wall is nearly the same all over. Only the ends were partly built over in connexion with the additions to Walls 100 and 104. Thus no objection can be made to the suggestion that the centre of the terrace was open towards the courtyard, while the sides were closed by Walls 100 and 104. Now, Walls 107 and 108 should be explained. They abut just against the ends of the walls mentioned and run parallel to each other, and to the sides of the court towards the entrance wall, and terminate 1.60 m. from it. The wall can be reconstructed either as solid and of the same height as the others, or as a low substructure for a fence or more likely a row of columns or supports for a roof. The weak character of the preserved parts of the walls prevents us from accepting the former suggestion. The walls are not strong enough to bear the heavy masses of stones which such walls should contain, and, besides, there were only a few fallen stones found in the vicinity of the walls. If the side portions really were separated from the centre of the courtyard by means of walls, they must have been of wood. But such a reconstruction is really not reasonable. What should the meaning be to separate two thirds of the courtyard from the open centre around the altar by closed rooms which in any case must have been roofed? The only reasonable explanation of the walls mentioned might be that they were foundations of a stylobate for two rows of columns placed symmetrically on either side of the open central area around the altar. Similar arrangements are frequently used as well in contemporary and earlier architecture, as in modern constructions of Cyprus. The courtyard, therefore, is like a peristyle court with closed sides. In the middle an open portion remains uncovered, just around the altar. The limitation of the open centre towards the south-east is marked by somewhat stronger portions of the Walls 107 and 108; on the latter wall this is very clear. The parts were made stronger in order to receive the weight of the columns in the corners of the central part. These columns had to support the roof just inside Stair 165, too. As the original places of the columns are no longer preserved on the stylobates, we may start from this corner of the central area and divide the walls in three portions each, placing two columns in the intervals. In doing so, it will be seen that the altar, situated practically in the middle of the central

part of the court, will come just opposite the intervals between the middle columns of the walls. This may be a proof that the suggested reconstruction is right. (Fig. 62).

There exists a slight asymmetry as to the width of the aisles. The northern one is not as wide as the southern one. But this finds its natural explanation by the passage into Room XLVI, which should fill almost the whole width of the aisle on this side. The altar, however, was built in a period before the roofing-in of the courtyard, and is therefore not situated exactly on the middle axis between the rows of columns.

### *Temple F.*

The reconstruction of the upper parts of this temple can hardly have been otherwise than with a gable-roof placed on the walls of the building. Walls 140 and 141 may, therefore, be explained as buttresses to Wall 124. How the apse was connected with the roof remains uncertain. Possibly it ended before it reached the roof. The foundation north of the entrance passage is interesting as it shows a striving towards symmetry. This part might be reconstructed in the same way as the flanking constructions in Temple E.

## FINDS

### OBJECT REGISTER

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| <p>301. Siren of hard limestone; standing on a small irregular base; straight bird's feet, rather carelessly sculptured; feathers marked out at about the knees. Just below hips the human body begins. It is slightly bent backwards and carefully sculptured with navel and breasts; the arms are folded; the hands grasping the long hair coming down on either side of the head. The face is almost round and fat; nose and mouth damaged. Long hair parted in the middle and hanging down on either side. On the back, large wings; the bird's tail almost unsculptured. Height 59.5. Width of wings 32.8. It is said to have been found at the site of Cholades by the villagers who tried to hide it in one of the empty tombs. Thanks to the activity of the police, however, in 1901, it was found there and brought to the Cyprus Museum, where it is exhibited with No. E 146.</p> <p>302. Seated sphinx of hard, grey limestone. Head and upper parts of wings missing. Head made separately from body. Rectangular base. The sphinx is seated in the same attitude as No. 536. The technical difference, however, between the pieces is obvious. Here the legs are clumsy and conventionalized; the body has very few naturalistic marks; no muscles or ribs are indicated and the tail ends simply on the left hind-leg. Height 64.0. Found by the land-owner in a wall which later was called No. 90 (see p. 7 and Fig. 50).</p> <p>303. Female head of hard limestone; broken off below neck; left side partly damaged; round face; wide, somewhat smiling mouth; short, crude nose; pointed</p> | <p>elliptical eyes with lids; long hair with careless, wavy curls. The drill frequently used between curls, and for forming the mouth. Height 18.0. Found by the land-owner in the field, under conditions which makes it necessary to connect the head with Temple E (cf. p. 7).</p> <p>304. Lower part of a semi-nude female statue of white marble; broken off through ankles and waist; yellowish patina. The statue rested on its left leg; right leg slightly bent. It is draped in a tunic which hangs down over back and left side, leaving right leg uncovered. The tunic is held by right hand which partly hides the genitalia. Nearly life-size. The statue was found built into a wall of the old church at the village Galini not far from Soli. It was supposed to have come from the site Cholades by the peasants of that village but it could not be ascertained whether this was true or not.*</p> <p>305. Large ornamental piece of architecture provided with reliefs; hard limestone. These are entirely worn away with the exception of a small figure of Victory, in the</p> |
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\* Only thanks to the benevolence and the personal action of the Bishop Makarios of Kerynia I was allowed to remove the statue from the church-wall for further examination and photographing. But I had to promise to replace it again, in the wall, where it thus still remains, now sheltered, however, by a piece of cloth. As it belongs to the church, the statue cannot be expropriated by the Government.

- upper left corner of the slab. It is upright, facing to the right, and holds a wreath. XXXIV.
306. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Female head facing right. *Reverse*: Eagle standing on a thunderbolt; closed wings. Inscriptions indecipherable. Possibly dating from late Ptolemaic period. Diam. 2.0. Weight 8.5.
307. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Inscription within wreath, inscription worn. *Reverse*: Double cornucopia, filleted, with a poppy-head between the horns; border of dots. Diam. 1.43. Weight 2.3.
308. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Male head facing right; laureate; around, . . AND . . ; below XX. *Reverse*: Laurel wreath; within  $\Delta E$  and \*. Diam. 1.68. Weight 3.6. XXXIV, below floor.
309. Coarse cooking-pot; rounded base; belly tapering upwards; wide, down-turned, flat rim. Two small handles below rim. Height 20.0. LIV, floor.
310. Oblong base with feet of a seated animal, most likely a sphinx. Upper side, somewhat convex. The paws provided with large claws. Length 48.0. Width 27.5. Thickness 12.0. LIV, below floor.
311. Dove of hard limestone. Head and end of tail missing; surface much worn. The legs are not sculptured but in their place is a small, square base with a hole for fixing the dove from below. The body is horizontal, the long wings being close to the body. Length 41.0. Height 28.0. XXXIV, upper layers.
- 312+313. Two animal heads, the one possibly of a wolf, the other a dog's head (cf. p. 150). Both heads are of the same general character, broken off at the collar. Both have a peaceful expression. One side of the heads is more carefully worked than the other indicating, that the dogs have been placed either at the sides of some object or other figure, or close together. The heads may be explained as belonging to a statue of Cerberus in which case the right, larger head (No. 312) represents the wolf's head and the left one (No. 313) that of a dog, viz. the Alexandrine type of Cerberus. Length No. 312: 17.0; No. 313: 15.0 XXXIV, floor.
314. Large female head in rather soft, white limestone, representing Isis. Broken below neck; the back part of the head is entirely missing; forehead with parts of the cork-screw curls damaged. The head is turned slightly to the left. The face is oval and very realistically sculptured; prominent chin with a small dimple in the centre; aquiline mouth with protruding lips. The eyes are deeply set and sculptured with elliptical lids. The expression of the face is severe and mourning, with sad mouth and deep eyes. The hair is curled in vertical screw curls, hanging around the face, even over the forehead. Around the crown, the hair is gathered in by a ribbon. Over the forehead, there is the base of a crescent, the tips of which are missing. The technique is fine and careful, different from most of the other sculptures. Height 42.5. Total width 24.0. Temples 18.0. XXXIV, Layer 2.
315. Nude, male statue of hard limestone. Left foot, and arm, right leg, and head missing. Breaks through left leg and right upper arm. The leg is slightly bent; body upright. The back is somewhat more carefully worked than the front, which is very rough. Width of shoulders 28.0. XXXIV, floor.
316. Nude, male statue of hard limestone standing on a small, irregular base; right leg from foot to hip, also arms and head missing. The statue was standing on right leg with left leg bent; upright body; arms were sculptured free from body. The statue is carefully sculptured all round. Behind the legs is a projection broken off from the base which served as a supporting pillar for the statue. The head was made separately from the body and fitted on to it by means of a small cavity in the body. Height 103.0. Feet to hips 60.0. Hips to shoulder 32.5. Shoulder 27.0. XXXIV, floor.
317. Female torso of a large statue of hard, grey limestone. Broken through the thighs and obliquely through right shoulder; right arm missing. Upright body; left arm slightly bent along the side. The head was made separately from the body and set into a depression on it. Vertically folded chiton and himation hanging over left shoulder and wound across the abdomen outside left arm, with deep folds. The folds are sculptured as deep, distinct grooves, the ridges between which have sharp edges. Flat, unsculptured back. Height 89. XXXIV, Layer 2.
318. Large head of hard limestone, representing Serapis. Broken through neck. The face is that of an elderly man with puffy cheeks, strong, straight nose, and deep, tragical eyes with lids and heavy eyebrows. The chin is covered by a very thick beard conventionalized with symmetrical, deep borings. The entire head is surrounded by a mass of curly hair, this, too, conventionalized with deep borings. On the back, which is rather roughly sculptured, there is a circular incised line indicating a small cap or more likely a ribbon in the hair. Height 38.0. Total width 31.0. Temples 15.7. XXXIV, floor.
319. Female statue in hard limestone standing on a small irregular base with right foot slightly advanced; right arm nearly straight and hanging downwards along the side, the forearm free from body; left arm bent, the hand holding left breast from below. Head is facing forwards; oval face; small, aquiline mouth; short, thick nose; large eyes with elliptical lids and convex eye-balls. The dress is very complicated. It should be regarded as a sort of cult-dress. The legs are hidden by a thick tunic, or petticoat which hangs down with stiff folds, leaving the sandalled feet uncovered. The petticoat is decorated with four pairs of squares, filled with figures in relief and surrounded by ornamental borders of a peculiar kind. The technique in which they are executed suggests that they imitate embroidery. With the exception of the lowest pair, the figures of each are alike and facing the ver-



tical, central border. 1st pair: — peacocks; 2nd pair: representations of the soul (Ba); 3rd pair: the cow-goddess Hathor lying; 4th pair: left side, embalming scene with a mummy, a man holding the bands and a priest dressed as the god Anubis; right side, winged Isis and some other figure which seems not to be interpretable. All these reliefs are more or less made *en creux*. Apparently the whole arrangement with borders and fields for pictures is inspired by paintings on Egyptian mummy-coffins which, however, are misinterpreted by the Cypriote artist. The vertical borders are decorated with a meander (central panel) and plaitwork (side borders). The horizontal borders are on either side alike: uppermost border, chain of lozenges with a dot in the middle; 2nd border, conventionalized vine; 3rd border, chain of upright ovals encircled by and connected with incised lines.

Over the hips the statue wears a cuirass ornamented with winged griffins in low relief, the tails of which end in an ornamental vine, the griffins facing each other. Around the waist there is a belt equipped with alternating square and rhombic stones. The breast of the statue is covered by an *aegis* or coat of mail composed of small, scale-like plates with rounded ends, hanging downwards. The coat covers the upper arms, but is without sleeves. Below neck, a necklace consisting of two strings with rows of pendants. The head-dress is horizontally fluted from brow to occiput and extends under the coat of mail at the back; from the temples, two ribbons hang down to the upper part of the breast. Back rounded but unsculptured. The whole statue is resculptured from the torso of another larger statue, some remains of which can be seen on the back of the base, where breast-folds of a tunic are distinguishable. Total height 100.0. Feet to hips 48.0. Hips to crown 47.0. Shoulders 26.0. XXXIV, floor.

320. Head of Isis in hard grey limestone, made separately from the body. The head may belong to the body, No. 317. Comparatively long, stiff neck; oval face with somewhat pointed chin; realistically sculptured mouth; straight brow- and noseline, slightly sloping; the eyes distinctly sculptured with elliptical lids; right eye damaged; left eye-ball is flat, filed off. The long, wavy hair is parted in the middle and falls down the sides of the head, hiding the ears. On the top of the crown, there is a crescent, the right point of which is broken. Rounded, roughly sculptured back. Height 40.0. Total width 19.4. Temples 11.4. Forehead to back 17.7. XXXIV, Layer 2.

321. Fragment of left foot of a more than life-size statue of hard limestone. The sandals are provided with a tongue which hangs over the ankle. Length 21.0. XXXIV, floor.

322. Fragments of a marble inscription. See Appendix I. XXXIV, floor.

323. Fragments of a marble inscription. See Appendix I. XXXIV, floor.

324. Cornucopia of hard limestone; moulded tip and edge. Ribbons are wound around the cornucopia which is filled with various fruits, among which grapes and pomegranates are distinguished. Two spikes hang over the edge. Length 50.0. XXXIV, floor.

325. Fragment of a bronze bracelet worn by Isis priestesses. Only the end of the bracelet is preserved; it is shaped as a raised uraeus with crown. Length 10.2. XXXIV, floor.

- 326 a) About 120 pieces of various bronze objects without determinable shape. They are intentionally broken into very small portions. Some of the pieces simply moulded. Length 1.0—5.0.

- b) About 60 pieces of bronze with parallel sides and varying width. Length 1.0—5.0.

- c) Various pieces of melted lead. Length 0.5—4.0. XXXIV, floor.

327. Terracotta lamp: moulded; ovoid shape; vertical handle; on edge small spirals in relief; on discus rosette-ornament; central hole. Nozzle damaged. Length 8.9. XXXIV, floor.

328. Female head of hard, coarse-grained, yellow limestone, broken below neck; partly worn; tip of nose missing. Long, powerful neck with two horizontal wrinkles; oval face, vigorous, prominent chin and nose; deep corners of the mouth; deeply set eyes sculptured with distinct contours; protruding eye-balls and well marked lids; the upper one arched, the lower almost straight. The eyes seem to look upwards. Gently curved forehead with slightly prominent middle. The wavy hair is parted in the centre, visible only just above the forehead. Over the crown hangs a veil or more likely a himation, the borders of which are visible at the sides of the head. The back is rounded but carelessly worked. Height 32.4. Total width 21.2. Temples 13.8. Chin to back of head 25.0. Wall 69, upper part.

329. Statue of hard limestone, representing Canopus. Circular, moulded base, bobbin-shaped, jar-like body without legs or arms. The body is crowned by a human head with face, fat cheeks, and wide nose, the tip of which is broken off. The eyes were inlaid with filling (now wanting). The head wears a small, curly goatee beard with long, wig-like hair falling on both sides over the breast. On the abdomen are decorations in relief: The lower part of the reliefs seem never to have been finished. In the centre of the stomach there is an uraeus, facing left, with coiled tail. On either side of the uraeus, birds are facing each other. Across the breast there is a necklace consisting of pendants with inlaid filling (now missing). Another necklace with only one pendant of the same kind as the lower ones, encircles the neck. Suspended from the head and passing round the back, the statue wears a *mandorla*-shaped tunic, with three folds visible from in front. The head is crowned by an Egyptian, palmette-shaped

- head-dress inlaid exactly like the pendants. The back is unsculptured. The torus above the base may be explained as the piece of cloth, which the natives place on the skull when carrying a water-jar on the head. Height 77.0. Base diam. 36.0. XXXV, on Altar 155.
330. Bronze coin; part of it missing. *Obverse*: Bust of Licinius, r.; laureate; around, inscription IMPLICINIVS... *Reverse*: Jupiter standing, l.; leaning on spear in left hand; in right hand, thunderbolt; left of figure, R; right of figure, S; around, inscription illegible. Diam. 1.7. Weight 2.3. VIII.
331. Bronze coin; illegible. Diam. 1.8. Weight 2.3. Stray find.
332. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Heraclius standing facing; wears crown with cross and long robes in r.; long cross potent; in l., globus with cross potent. *Reverse*: I B Globus with cross potent in ex. AAEΞ. Diam. 1.6. Weight 4.6. Stray find.
333. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Trajan r.; radiate, wearing paludamentum; around, inscription rather worn ΑΥΤΟ ΚΡΑΙΟΝ... ΑΝΩΑΡΙΟΤ... *Reverse*: Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos; above the two cross-beams, tied to tops of central columns, is a garland the ends of which hang down outside; on either side slender column; in front semicircular court; the cone has a double flat top and a star on either side; below, inscription ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ. Diam. 2.73. Weight 12.9. V.
334. Male head of hard limestone, probably representing one of the Dioscuroi; broken off at neck; nose damaged. Oval face with straight mouth; wide brow, almond-shaped eyes with lids and convex eye-balls. Half-long, slightly conventionalized hair with deep borings in the centre of the curls. On the back the hair is indicated as irregular grooves. The head wears a rounded conical cap, the *πίλος* of Dioscuroi. Height 21.0. Temples 8.2. XXXIV, floor.
335. Snake wound in a complicated and irregular way around a cornucopia; broken in many pieces, which fit together with the exception of two pieces of the snake's body and the upper part of the cornucopia. The group rests on a circular base; the whole is made from one piece of stone. The head of the snake is put in a horizontal position. Probably it was feeding on the fruits in the cornucopia. The skin of the snake is carefully sculptured, with different kinds of scales on back and belly. Between the long incised eyes there is a loop-shaped design. Height 45.0. XXXIV, floor.
336. Flat, male statue in soft, grey limestone. Lower part from hips, and head missing. Upright, flat body. Right arm along the side; left forearm bent holding a bird close to the breast. Vertically folded chiton with short sleeves and gathered in by a belt around the waist. On right, hangs a himation with the edge from right shoulder obliquely across the body, leaving the chiton visible on right side. Flat back. Height 19.0. Shoulders 12.2. Breast to back 4.5. XXXII, floor.
337. Base of a statue with naked feet; hard limestone. Right leg preserved up to above the knee. Careful technique. Height 32.5. XLIV, floor.
338. Limestone head of similar character as No. 334, broken off through neck; mouth, nose, and right cheek damaged. On the crown, there is a fracture after some high, apparently triangular head-dress or cap, which is wanting now. Back is carefully worked. Height 18.1. Temples 9.9. XXXIV, floor.
339. Male statue of hard, grey limestone. Lower part from thighs and head missing. Upright body; right arm along the side, the hand holding a round object; left forearm raised, close to the side. Chiton with short sleeves. Around the body a himation is wound the end of which hangs over left shoulder. Plain back. Height 30.0. In Wall 99.
340. Torso of a nude, male statue of hard, grey limestone. Surface rather weathered. Broken through right thigh and left knee; head, right arm, and left forearm missing. Right leg seems to have been slightly advanced. The body is upright and carefully sculptured even on the back. Right arm was sculptured free from the body. Left arm akimbo holding a himation, which hangs over left shoulder along the side, on the back of the statue. Height 38.0. Shoulders 18.5. In Wall 89.
341. Fragment of the cornucopia of No. 335. XLIV, floor.
342. Female head in hard limestone, of similar type as No. 319, but without grooves on the head-dress. The technique is much coarser; surface roughly sculptured and never smoothed. Nose missing. Height 20.0. Temples 11.0. XLIII c.
343. Fragment of the breast of a male statue of hard limestone. Length 21.0. XXX.
344. Five bronze leaves, probably belonging to a wreath. The leaves are carelessly cut out of a thin bronze sheet. One of them has plain edges, the others have pointed lobes. On two of the leaves are traces of gold indicating that the leaves probably were gilded originally. Length 6.0—7.2. XXXII.
345. Handle of a bronze vase, shaped as a dolphin. The tail-fin ends in a lotus-flower, whose middle petal is pierced by a rivet. The body of the fish has circular section and widens towards the head. Two large, striated fins on the sides, behind the eyes; upturned nose. Length 8.1. Outside XXXI; cf. Section XV, level 120.0.
346. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Constantine, r.; laureate; draped; with cuirass; around, inscription (first part missing) IMP CONSTANTINVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: The Sun, radiate; half-nude, face to the right; left arm raised holding the globe; around, inscription: (first part missing) SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Diam. 2.05. Height 2.7. XLIII A.
347. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Licinius r.; laureate, around IMPC VALLICIN LICINIVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: Jupiter standing, l.; left arm raised resting on a sceptre or spear; in right hand, Victory present-

- ing him with a wreath; on ground, left, eagle with wreath. Around (on either side, inscription IOVICONSERVATORI. To the right of Jupiter, B. Below, S M K. Diam. 2.0. Weight 2.8. XLIV, floor.
348. Bronze coin; illegible. Diam. 1.3. Weight 0.8. XXXIV, below floor.
349. Terracotta lamp; flat base; curved sides; bulging upper side; inturned rim; narrow hole at centre; thick nozzle; coarse, red clay. Length 8.4. XXXII, below floor.
350. Coarse cooking-pot; rather squat shape; moulded rim; vertical handles below rim. Diam. 20.5. XXV, deposit.
351. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; no handle; volutes on nozzle; moulded eagle on discus, ex-central hole. Length 9.2. XXV.
352. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 8.8. XXV.
353. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 351. Length 9.1. XXV.
354. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; no handle; diminutive nozzle; impressed cymatium on edge; moulded circles on discus. Length 7.0. XXV.
355. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 385. Length 9.3. XXV.
356. Moulded terracotta lamp; pierced, vertical handle; volutes on nozzle; cymatium on edge; radiating lines and circles on discus; central hole. Length 9.1. XXV.
357. Moulded terracotta lamp; no handle; plain flat base; volutes on nozzle; plain rim; central hole. Length 8.7. XXV.
358. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 9.5. XXV.
359. Moulded terracotta lamp; no handle; volutes on nozzle; moulded *chitaroidos* on discus; excentric hole. Length 8.8. XXV.
360. Moulded terracotta lamp; impressed circles round base; no handle; diminutive nozzle; plain discus. Length 7.2. XXV.
361. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; volutes on nozzle; moulded star on discus; central hole; nozzle damaged. Length 6.8. XXV.
362. Moulded terracotta lamp; slightly raised base; vertical handle (missing); volutes on nozzle; plain edge; on discus two cornucopiae. Length 9.0. XXV.
363. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 360. Length 7.5. XXV.
364. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 360. Length 7.0. XXV.
365. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 383. Length 8.6. XXV.
366. Moulded terracotta lamp; somewhat elevated base; pierced, vertical handle; volutes on nozzle; impressed leaf-ornaments on edge; deep, plain discus. Length 9.2. XXV.
367. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Damaged. XXV.
368. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 8.7. XXV.
369. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 360, but with impressed circles on discus. Length 7.5. XXV.
370. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 351, but with a Ganymede on the back of an eagle, on the discus. Length 8.8. XXV.
371. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 351, but with *gladiator* instead of the eagle. Length 8.5. XXV.
372. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 354, but with rosette on discus. Length 8.0. XXV.
373. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 351, but with a bird on a bough instead of eagle. Length 8.8. XXV.
374. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 354. Length 7.5. XXV.
375. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; no handle; volutes on nozzle; moulded rosette on discus; ex-central hole. Length 8.6. XXV.
376. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 385. Length 9.4. XXV.
377. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 356, but plain. Length 9.5. XXV.
378. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 385, but with plain discus. Length 8.0. XXV.
379. Moulded terracotta lamp; slightly raised base; thick, prolonged nozzle; pierced, vertical handle; small, plain discus; floral reliefs on edge. Length 9.7. XXV.
380. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 354, but with wreath of oak leaves on edge and rosette on discus. Length 7.0. XXV.
381. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 357. Length 8.4. XXV.
382. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Handle damaged. Length 7.8. XXV.
383. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; vertical, pierced handle; diminutive nozzle; wavy knobs on either side; slightly moulded discus. Length 8.6. XXV.
384. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 360, but with impressed circles on discus. Length 7.5. XXV.
385. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 356, but with diminutive nozzle and no volutes. Nozzle damaged. Length 9.8. XXV.
386. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 383. Length 8.6. XXV.
387. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 357. Length 8.1. XXV.
388. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 385. Length 9.3. XXV.
389. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 8.5. XXV.
390. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 383. Length 8.5. XXV.
391. Moulded terracotta lamp; somewhat moulded base-ring; pierced, vertical handle; faint volutes on nozzle; moulded edge of discus; central hole. Length 9.5. XXV.

392. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 384. Length 7.5. XXV.
393. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 9.1. XXV.
394. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 356, but with diminutive nozzle and no volutes. Handle damaged. Length 9.4. XXV.
395. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 356. Length 9.9. XXV.
396. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 9.6. XXV.
397. Small bottle of glass; flattened base; tapering body; long neck; rim missing. Height 8.2. XXV.
398. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 8.8. XXV.
399. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 356, but plain. Length 9.6. XXV.
400. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 375, but with central hole. Length 8.5. XXV.
401. Moulded terracotta lamp. as No. 359. Length 8.8. XXV.
402. Small, female terracotta head; broken off below neck; right part of chin and nose somewhat damaged. Oval face of common type; deep eyes with sculpturally marked eyelids. Conical head-dress below which the curly hair is visible. Height 4.0. XLI, on the rock.
403. Female terracotta statuette; hollow and made in a mould; head and right hand missing. The statuette rests on right leg with left leg slightly bent. Right arm raised, probably holding a jar on the head of the statuette. Long, vertically folded chiton reaching the ground; himation wound across body and gathered in by left arm. Traces of red paint on himation. Rounded back with irregular back-hole. Height 13.5. XLI, surface layer.
404. Terracotta lamp; flat, slightly raised base; curved sides; out-turned rim, pinched to a nozzle. Length 8.4. XXX, on the rock.
405. The *kalathos* of a Serapis-statue in yellow marble. The piece is broken off just at the base; cylindrical sides; torus-like edge around the flattened top. Side decorated with two rows of alternating squares and rosettes in low relief rather carelessly worked especially on one side. Height 14.5. Upper diam. 16.0. XLV, Altar 156.
406. Two pieces of a column-shaped lamp of white marble; circular base; fluted stem; moulded top with a piscina-shaped bowl and wide outlet. The lamp has been sawn in two pieces from top to base. The two halves were probably placed against the wall above Altar 156 in Room XLV. Lower part of one half missing. Height of lamp 54.0.
407. Square slab of hard limestone with the mourning Eros sculptured in high relief. There is no base on which he stands (feet partly missing). Legs almost straight; body upright; left arm is raised to the back of the head grasping the quiver, which is visible, more hinted than sculptured, just above left side of head. In the same way a diminutive bow is hinted as an emblem at the side of right thigh. Right arm is placed obliquely across the body to the left side, and holding a torch turned straight down and parallel with left leg. The torch widens towards the flame which is to be seen just in the corner of the slab. The large, round head is slightly turned forwards and surrounded by curly, reddish-painted hair with deep borings used as decoration. Eros is nude but wears bracelets around ankles and upper arms. Slab. 10.0×53.0. Eros' height 50.5. Hip to shoulder 15.0. Feet to hip 24.0. XLV, Altar 156.
408. Fragment of the breast of a male statue of hard limestone. Height 15.0. XLV, Altar 156.
409. Oblong marble slab with inscription in Greek letters. The short sides are carefully levelled. See Pl: XXV, I. Length 42.0. Width 15.0. Thickness 11.5. XXVII, among fallen stones from Wall 124.
- 410+411. Two fragments of a male statue in hard, grey limestone. The upper fragment (No. 410) is broken just below the hips; right hand and head missing. The other fragment (No. 411) consists of the base with the legs up to about the knees. The base is irregular with horizontal upper side. Left leg is slightly bent; body upright. Arms slightly bent along the sides; left hand holds a bird close to the side. Short-sleeved chiton and himation hanging over left shoulder and wound around the body. The naked feet and legs are not sculptured free from the background. Unsculptured back. Height No. 410: 30.0; No. 411: 18.5. In Wall 95.
412. Base with the feet of a large statue of hard limestone. The lower part of the legs were sculptured as a relief. Length 48.0. Width 27.0. Height 20.0. In Wall 95.
413. Female head, possibly of Aphrodite, in hard, grey limestone, broken through neck. Face is much worn and piece of chin missing. Only parts of the eyes can clearly be distinguished as concerns the face. They are realistically sculptured and, evidently, deeply set which is noticeable at the base of the nose. The long hair is parted in the middle and gathered on the nape of the neck. Lower parts of ears visible below the hair. The head wears a ribbon over the hair. Height 20.0. Total width 16.5. Temples 11.0. In Wall 90.
414. Female head of white, coarse-grained marble, representing Agrippina the elder. Nose damaged. The head was made separately from the body and fixed to it by means of an iron peg set into a hole visible from below. The neck is long and sculptured with three indistinct, horizontal wrinkles. The face has a rather triangular shape with a prominent chin and a very broad forehead. The aquiline, distinguished mouth has thin lips, but is not deeply bored. The eyes are distinctly designed with a well marked brow-line and lids enclosing the eye-balls elliptically. The hair



is parted in the middle and combed to the sides. Over the temples, there are four rows of small spiral curls sculptured separately from each other. At the centre of each curl, there is a small dimple made with the drill. At the sides of the neck and emanating from behind the ears are wavy curls. The back of the head is unsculptured. On the top of the crown there is a rounded fracture of some kind of a head-dress which now is missing. Height 33.0. Total width 24.0. Temples 13.7. Forehead to back 18.0. XVII.

415. Small, female head of white, coarse-grained marble made separately from the body with a hole for a fixing peg in the neck. Nose is damaged. Head is turned a little to the right. Long, narrow, concave neck with two horizontal wrinkles. Face is oval with a small mouth, elliptical eyes, rather deeply set, sculptured with sharply marked lids; curved forehead with slightly prominent parts above the eyes. The long hair is parted in the middle, combed backwards and tied on the nape of the neck. The hair is carelessly worked, designed by means of straight parallel grooves. Parts of the ears are visible below the hair. The head once was set into a depression on the statue. Height 10.7. Total width 5.2. Temples 3.8. Forehead to back 6.0. V, floor.

416 + 463.

Statuette of nude Aphrodite in fine-grained, white marble, broken in four pieces with fractures through right thigh, waist, and neck. Lower parts of legs, arms, and part of neck and left shoulder missing. Aphrodite stands on her right leg with left leg raised. The body is bent over left knee and turned to the left. She looks at some object (now missing), which she probably held with her hands over her left knee. The head (No. 416) does not exactly fit to the body, but there is no doubt that it belongs to it. It was broken already in ancient times and mended by means of an iron peg which was found sitting in the head (on the body there is a corresponding hole). The face is very carefully sculptured with slightly prominent chin, almost straight front, and nose-line. The eyes are treated in a very soft way with lids, but without eye-balls. The gently curved forehead has its centre slightly prominent. The hair is sculptured in a peculiar way. It is parted in the middle and combed backwards and tied on the nape of the neck. The waves of the hair are marked by various incisions, which gives a good impression of realistically sculptured waves. Below the hair, parts of the pierced ears are visible. The oxidation of the iron pin for fixing the head has caused some damage to the head which thus has a crack through the neck and left cheek. — On the side of the left thigh, there is an oval fracture, the remains of some object attached to the statue. Height 26.0. V, floor.

417. Fragment of right foot of yellow marble belonging to a statue. To the same statue also the pieces Nos. 437 and 464 belong. The fragment consists of the

forepart of the foot, which is naked. The toes are realistically sculptured. Part of a garment is visible just above the toes. The foot stands on a small irregular base just large enough for it. On the side where the foot was attached to the statue, there is no real fracture but the surface is cut even and there is a hole for an iron peg. Length 8.3. Width 6.2. V, floor.

418. Statue of hard limestone representing Cybele. Head and right forearm, head of right lion missing. The goddess stands in an unusual upright position on a small base between two seated lions, resting on her left leg with right leg slightly bent. The female figure is recognized below the dress. Left arm is bent and kept close to the body holding a small tympanon in front of the breast. Head was made separately to be set into a depression on the statue. Cybele wears a vertically folded chiton reaching the ground. It is held together by a ribbon tied just below the breast. From left shoulder hangs a long, folded himation obliquely over the body. The end of the himation is held by left arm whence vertical folds hang down. The back of the statue is unsculptured but rounded. Height 37.5. Shoulders 13.0. V, floor.
419. Upright, female statue of soft, grey limestone. Right foot and forearm and head missing. The statue is standing on a small irregular base with right leg slightly bent. Left arm is along the side, the hand holding a flower; the forearm is sculptured free from the body. Around left wrist, there is a plain bracelet. Two others are visible on right upper arm. The statue wears a short-sleeved, long, vertically folded tunic, reaching the ground just leaving parts of the feet uncovered. The tunic gathered in below the breast by a ribbon has two horizontal folds over the abdomen and hips. The fold over the abdomen is double and arched in a peculiar way suggesting a line of fringes. Unsculptured, flattened back. Height 51.0. Shoulders 16.0. Abdomen to back 9.0. V, floor.
420. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Maximinus, r.; laureate; draped; around, inscription MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM. *Reverse*: Winged Victory, standing with face to the left; holding a wreath; in front of her, seated prisoner; around, inscription VICTORIA GERMANICA (partly worn). To the left of figure, S; to the right, C. Diam. 3.1. Weight 21.7. V, floor.
421. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Zeus, r.; encircling line. *Reverse*: Eagle with lifted wings, standing on the thunderbolt, l.; around, inscription, illegible; in front of eagle, above, A (much worn), and below N. Diam. 2.7. Weight 14.8. V, below floor.
422. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Gordianus, r.; laureate; draped; around, inscription IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG. *Reverse*: the Sun standing, radiate; half-nude; face to the left; right arm raised; left hand holding globe; around, inscription AETEP NITATI AVG. To the left of figure, S; to the right C. Diam. 2.9. Weight 18.6. V, floor.

423. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Mamaea, r.; draped; diadem; around, inscription IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. *Reverse*: Venus standing; face to the left; holding a helmet and a sceptre; around, inscription VENVS VICTRIX (partly worn away); left of figure, S; to the right, C. Diam. 3.1. Weight 24.8. V, floor.
424. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Licinius, l.; draped; helmet and cuirass; holding a spear on right shoulder; around, inscription DNVALICIN LICINIVS NOBC. *Reverse*: Jupiter half-nude standing; left arm leaning on spear; right hand holding a Victory on a globe presenting Jupiter a wreath; to the right of the figure seated prisoner; to the left, eagle holding a wreath in the beak; around, inscription IOVICON ERVA-TORI; below SMANTΛ; above prisoner, III. Diam. 20.0. Weight 2.3. V, floor.
425. Female head of white, fine-grained marble, broken below the neck. Tip of nose damaged. The head is slightly turned left. Oval face; well marked chin with a small dimple in the centre; the mouth is marked by wavy line, not very deep. The nose is rather broad at the upper part, rather long and was probably just a little concave. The forehead is gently curved with a slightly prominent middle. In relation to the nose-ridge the eyes are deeply set and sculptured with faintly marked lids, the upper one of which is arched; the lower one, however, a little heightened but not exactly straight. The hair is arranged in five realistically sculptured "melon rolls". Only the lower parts of the ears visible below the hair. The back of the head is obliquely cut off and roughly levelled. It may be that the back of the head was added in some other material e. g. gypsum or stucco, which now has disappeared. The technique used for this head is marked by an extreme softness. All planes are gently melted the one into the other and there are no sharp lines in the treatment of the mouth and the eyes. Height 14.0. Total width 8.0. Temples 5.5. Chin to crown 8.5. V, floor.
426. Small, female terracotta head made in a mould. Rounded, pleasant face; hair combed with melon rolls partly covered by a hat or cap on the back of head with up-turned edge. Triangular leaves or rosettes behind ears. Red paint preserved on hat and hair. Height 4.2. XLII.
427. Statue in hard, grey limestone representing a mourning Isis, kneeling on a piece of a column. Right hand and one side of the column damaged. The body is upright with a strictly frontal position; left hand pressed to the thigh; right arm bent to the body. The neck is short and thick; oval face showing an expression of profound grief; large open eyes with elliptical lids, distinctly worked. From the base of the nose run marked wrinkles. The long hair is parted in the middle, combed backwards and gathered in a coil on the nape of the neck. Isis wears a small convex cap, which covers only the back of the head. The parting of the hair in the middle is engraved even on the cap. In the course of his work the artist probably changed his mind and sculptured the cap. Isis wears a long, folded tunic reaching to the feet. A shawl is suspended from both shoulders with long fringes hanging down and radiating over the abdomen. The shawl is gathered up by a twisted band below the small breasts. The style is primitive and the artists' laboured attempt to impart a mournful expression to the attitude of Isis is rather comical. Height 46.3. Knees to back 15.0. XVII.
428. Base of white marble for two statuettes. Oblong shape. One edge on the back is levelled. On the front, inscription in Greek letters. See Pl. XXIV, 15. Length 41.0. Width 22.4. Thickness 9.0. VIII, floor.
429. Body of a very much corroded statue of alabaster. Apparently the attitude was similar to No. 446. Height 40.0. V, floor.
430. Glass bottle with flattened base; body tapering upwards; tubular neck; stilted rim. Height 6.0. V, below Altar 147.
431. Glass bottle with rounded base; convex body tapering upwards; contracted neck-line; tubular neck; stilted rim. Height 5.3. V, below Altar 147.
432. Glass bottle with round base; gentle outline; tubular neck; wide rim (fragm. missing). Height 6.2. V, below Altar 147.
433. Glass bottle with concave base; body tapering upwards; somewhat concave sides; tubular neck; splaying rim. Height 7.4. V, below Altar 147.
434. Glass bottle with somewhat concave base; contracted neck-line; cylindrical neck, upper part missing. Height 6.7. V, below Altar 147.
435. Glass bottle; concave base; body tapering upwards; splaying rim. Height 10.0. V, below Altar 147.
436. Glass bottle with flattened base; gently curved sides; stilted rim. Height 10.7. V, below Altar 147.
437. Right hand holding a plate. Yellow marble. The piece is broken 3 cm. above the hand, where it has been mended by means of an iron peg, already in ancient time. The fracture is, however, not levelled. The hand is carefully sculptured and holds the plate with four fingers below. No nails are designed. The plate of which a small piece is missing has a small rim and a knob in the centre. Length 17.0. Diam. of plate 12.3. V, floor.
438. Female head of white marble probably belonging to a statue of Aphrodite. The head is broken obliquely through neck just below the chin. Only a small piece on the right side missing; the rest in perfect state of preservation. The head is elaborately sculptured though the absence of the neck imparts to the head a disfiguring fullness, noticeable especially on the slightly prominent chin, which has a small dimple in the centre. The face is oval with rather full cheeks. The mouth is deeply bored as are the nostrils; the upper lip short. The nose is straight and delicately worked, the base of it being comparatively broad. The eyes are not very deeply set but very distinctly

- sculptured with somewhat sharp lines marking the lids, which limit the eye-balls almost elliptically. The forehead is gently curved with a slightly prominent middle. The ears are partly visible below the hair. They are realistically sculptured and the drill is used for the deeper parts. The wavy hair is parted in the middle and combed backwards. Around the crown there was a ribbon added probably in some other material. crown is almost unsculptured. The back of the head, flat and unworked, is provided with a hole for an iron rod either for fixing the statue to a wall or something similar or for fixing the back part, which then must have been worked in some other material (cf. No. 425). The eyes were painted in white with dark iris, the paint now being very faint. There are also traces of red paint on the hair. Height 22.7. Total width 16.9. Temples 12.3. Forehead to back 14.9. Neck-fracture 10.5×10.9. V, floor.
439. Upright, female statue of hard, grey limestone. Right forearm and head, made separately to be set into a depression on the statue, missing. The statue rests on left leg with right leg bent slightly backwards. Upright body in a very quiet position. Left arm bent close to the body, gathering up the himation. On the upper arms are spiral bracelets with ends shaped like snakes' heads. The statue wears a long, vertically folded tunic without sleeves, fastened over the shoulders by pins. Below the diminutive breasts, the tunic is gathered up by a thin ribbon. An obliquely folded himation is wound around the lower part of the body and is borne up by the left arm, from which the ends hang down in vertical folds to the knees. The back is round, but unsculptured. Height 80.0. V, floor.
440. Silver denar. *Obverse*: Head of Severus, r.; laureate; around, inscription LSEPT SEVAVG IMPXI PERTINAX. *Reverse*: Fortuna standing, face to the left; holding a cornucopia and a sieve; around, inscription AEQVIT (end of inscription illegible). Diam. 1.9. Weight 3.0. V, floor.
441. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Male head, r.; distinguishable. *Reverse*: Entirely worn away. Diam. 1.9. Weight 2.3. V, floor.
442. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Trajan r.; radiate, wearing paludamentum. Inscription worn away. *Reverse*: Entirely worn away. Diam. 2.7. Weight 11.1. V, floor.
443. Female head of soft, grey limestone, broken below neck. Elaborate work but worn; part of nose broken and missing. Face is oval with well marked chin; aquiline mouth; straight nose with broad base. Eyes are deeply set and carefully elaborated with elliptical lids. Gently curved forehead with slightly prominent middle. The hair is parted in the middle and arranged as a kind of torus over the forehead. On the back, the long hair falls down with distinctly worked waves at the sides. Ears partly visible. The head wears a crown or diadem, the back part of which is covered by a veil, falling down over the back-hair. The crown is decorated with palmettes. Height 14.0. Total width 8.2. Temples 5.9. V, floor.
444. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Trajan r.; bare-headed, wearing paludamentum; inscription worn away. *Reverse*: Zeus Salaminus standing to front, facing, wearing chiton and himation. Other details and inscription worn away. Diam. 3.4. Weight 24.3. Stray find.
445. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Caracalla r.; laureate; around, inscription M'ANTΩNEINOC AVΓOVCTOC. *Reverse*: Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos; central portion consisting of two tall columns each ending in two points, joined by two cross-beams with four metope-like openings between them; side-wings roofed, and each containing column supporting lamps in front; semicircular court; paved; enclosed by lattice-work fence with open gates; above central portion, star in crescent; on roof of each wing, a dove; in court, one oblong object (terrace below the middle *cella*), two circular (altars), and a dove facing to the right. The cone has a pointed top; around (above) inscription KOINON (KY)ΠΠΙΩΝ. Diam. 3.23. Weight 20.5. V, floor.
446. Statue of very soft, grey limestone, representing Cybele sitting on a throne supported by two lions. The state of preservation was so bad that, after a few days in the open air, the statue dissolved into a powder in spite of all attempts to preserve it. Head of Cybele, part of tympanon and the forelegs of the lion on right side missing. Cybele is seated on a throne holding a large tympanon in her left hand; the right arm rests on the head of the lion. Over the breast, three plaits hang on each side. She wears a long chiton just leaving the feet uncovered, and a long deeply folded himation. On each side of the throne the lions stand symmetrically. They are realistically sculptured, but, unfortunately, badly damaged. Height 50.0. Shoulders 21.0. Base width 24.5. V, floor.
447. Torso in white marble, representing Aphrodite, broken through hips, upper arms, and neck. The body is slightly bent to the right. A piece of the long hair is seen on the back between the shoulders. The neck fracture is pierced for a peg fixing the head. The fracture is oblique and not levelled. Height 13.3. Shoulders 9.5. Waist 6.3. XIII.
448. Bearded head, or mask of hard, coarse limestone; broken off through neck. Only the face is sculptured, with four vertical strips of beard hanging straight down from the lower lip. This beard and the half opened mouth are surrounded by a long, slightly curled moustache. Short, wide nose with vertical brow- and noseline; eyes roughly sculptured. On the head is a plain cap, or helmet below which the short front-hair is marked by a horizontal line. Sides and back, flat and unsculptured. Height 21.4. XXXV, on Altar 155.
449. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Licinius, r.; radiate; draped; cuirass; around, inscription IMPCVAL LICIN

- LICINIVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: Jupiter standing, face to left; half-nude; left arm leaning on a spear; right hand holding a Victory on a globe; to the right of the figure a seated prisoner; to the left, eagle holding a crown with its beak; around, inscription IOVI CONSERVATORI; right of figure  $\text{III}^{\text{M}}$ ; below SMKA. Diam. 2.0. Weight 2.9. XXIX, floor.
450. Iron rod bent into a loop, with a straight pin. Length 22.5. Diam. 5.8. V, floor.
451. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Maximianus (?) r.; radiate; around, inscription IMPCM AVR VALMAXIMIANVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: Jupiter and Hercules standing face to face; the former holding globe and sceptre; the latter Victory, club and lion's skin. Around, IOVETHERCVCONSER AVGG. Diam. 2.23. Weight 3.3. IX.
452. Idol (?) of yellow marble, broken at one end; very queer sculpture, found in two pieces, fitting well to each other. A bobbin-shaped body can be distinguished with a concave frontside and a back. The frontside has fifteen small projections resembling warts or nipples arranged in three rows. The top, where the head would be expected is simply conically ended, the very tip being broken. The back is flattened and provided with three arched grooves. At the sides, diminutive bent arms are indicated. On the back, corresponding beginnings of legs are marked by a groove. On the frontside of this broken end, the same legs are distinguished but beginning much lower. Between these legs the fracture of another body can be seen though this is missing. The monstrous figure may be interpreted as a being at the moment of a childbirth and had probably some sacrificial purpose. Length 25.5. Width 10.5. XIII and XVII.
453. Egg-shaped, green stone, heavy and hard. The whole surface is notched with a hammer. On one side the letters I B F are notched in. See Pl. XXV, 3. Length 24.0. XIII.
454. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Laureate bust, r.; draped; with cuirass; around, inscription FLIVL CONSTANTIVS NOBC. *Reverse*: two soldiers with helmets leaning on spears and shields; face to face; between them, two military signs; around, inscription; illegible. Diam. 1.9. Weight 2.3. XIII.
455. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Female bust r.; much worn. *Reverse*: Entirely worn away. Diam. 2.57. Weight 11.1. XIII.
456. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Julia Domna r.; behind, crescent; around, inscription IOV.I IO MNAC EB. *Reverse*: Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos as on No. 445; around (on either side) KOINON KVHPIQN. Diam. 3.38. Deight 21.6. V.
457. Bearded head, possibly representing Zeus, of yellow, coarse-grained marble, broken through neck. Surface worn. The back of the head is missing and was possibly added in some other material as has been suggested as regards No. 425. The front part of the beard is damaged and the nose worn away, but the head seems once to have been a good work. The full beard is rather short and has a rounded outline. The eyes are deeply set and realistically worked. The forehead is gently curved and has a slightly prominent middle above the broad base of the nose. The hair is in disorder. Height 13.0. Total width 9.0. Temples 6.2. Forehead to back 7.3. XII, below floor.
458. Fragment of the breast of a small marble statuette, probably female; broken through body with oblique break. Himation hanging down on back from both shoulders with heavy folds over the breast. Height 8.5. Width of shoulders 5.6. XII.
459. Terracotta lamp, moulded, as No. 378. Length 8.2. XVII, floor.
460. Base of alabaster for a small statuette; rectangular shape. Length 7.3. Width 5.7. XII, below floor.
461. Two fragments of a statuette, probably female, in yellow marble.  
a) Lower part with the feet standing on small base. The legs are hidden by a long himation which falls in artistic folds. Close to the feet, on left side, the base of a square pillar. Flat back. Height 11.6. Total width 14.5. Toes to back 10.5.  
b) The upper part of the pillar mentioned with the left hand of the statue resting on it. XII, below floor.
462. Male head of hard limestone; surface badly damaged especially the face. Hair is parted in the middle. High head-dress, widening upwards and simply moulded. The break on the back of the head indicates that it probably was a part of some architectural decoration. Height 8.3. XII.
463. Fragments of a marble statuette. Cf. No. 416. VIII.
464. Left hand of the same statue as No. 437 and probably also No. 417. The piece, which is broken just above the hand holds a torch directed downwards. The hand is carefully sculptured in the same style as No. 437. The torch consists of a bundle of sticks held together by strings in three separate places. The flames of the torch are burning downwards, twisted around a conical base. — Four pieces mended in the usual way by means of iron pins. The fractures between the fragments have not been levelled. The torch was painted with vertical red lines. The flames, too, were painted red. Length 50.0. VIII.
465. Oblong marble slab with bluish veins; thin; edges bevelled backwards. The front has an inscription in Greek characters arranged in four lines. See Pl. XXIV, 16. Length 43.5. Width 18.1. Thickness 3.2. VIII.
466. Torso of a nude statuette, probably representing Aphrodite. Legs from the knees, right arm, left forearm, and head missing. Right breast slightly damaged. In the fracture from the head, which not has been levelled, there is an iron peg for fixing the head. Aphrodite stands with her right leg slightly advanced; the upper part of the body is gently bent to the left. Apparently the right arm was raised above the head.



Left arm was partly sculptured free from body and slightly bent, directed downwards. On the back, there is a band running obliquely from right shoulder to the waist on the left side. Certainly this band was held by the hands of Aphrodite. On the outside of left thigh, there is a fracture of some object or, more likely a support for the statue sculptured from the same piece of marble. The surface is not polished, but mat and between the fractures on the thigh and that of right arm the surface has been roughly smoothed only. The drill has been used in the deeper parts e. g. for marking the line between the legs, in the arm-pit, and for boring the navel. When the statuette was found red paint was noted on the genitalia, but this has now almost entirely vanished. Height 23.3. Shoulders 8.2. Waist 6.5. Hips 8.4. Abdomen to back 4.7. Knee to hip 11.5. Hip to shoulders 11.2. VIII.

467. Moulded terracotta lamp; ovoid shape; flat base; vertical handle-knob without hole; impressed circles and dots around edge; on discus, Christian cross with small circles at the ends and in the middle; two holes in discus. Length 8.6. Stray find.

468. Oblong base for a statuette; white marble; on the upper side a cavity for the statuette to be fitted in. Length 18.5. Width 14.0. Height 4. XII.

469. Bearded head of a satyr in hard limestone, curiously resembling Socrates. Broken off below neck. The face is round; with thick lips; short, wide nose; puffy cheeks, large eyes with arched lids; the eyebrows are prominent and arched. The forehead with horizontal wrinkles is very short. The head wears a long, curly, slightly conventionalized beard with moustaches. On the skull there is no hair, with the exception of patches around the large, crescent-shaped animal ears. The back of the head is spherical. Height 28.0. Total width 17.3. Forehead to back 18.8. XVII.

470. Spherical stone; similar to No. 453. The present shape is obtained by means of notchings with a hammer. On one side an "N" is hammered in. Diam. c. 20.0. VIII.

471 a) Bronze button; circular with moulded edge and trace of a nail in centre. Diam. 3.7.

b) Circular plaque of lead with a central knob. Diam. 4.8.

Both objects might have belonged to a lamp-stand; b) as weight in the foot. V, floor.

472. Small, female head of terracotta; moulded face; back of head missing; broken off below neck. Dull details of face. Hair parted in the middle and combed backwards. Diadem over the crown. Height 4.8. V.

473. Pierced, conical bead of dark, red amber. Diam. 2.2. Wall 6.

474. Head of small, female terracotta statuette, holding a jug on the head with right hand. Broken below neck and through right elbow. Moulded face with dull details; somewhat curly, long hair, parted in the middle. Height 4.8. XXXVI.

475. Arrow-head with flat tang; lancet-shaped blade without mid-rib; point somewhat curved. Length 12.0. XI, floor.

476. Small, female terracotta head; broken off through neck; moulded face with dull details. Long hair parted in the middle and tied on the back of the head. Over crown a wreath or diadem. Height 3.7. XI.

477. Small, female terracotta head with moulded face; made separately from body. Head slightly turned to the right; oval face with regular design of a very soft character. Long hair parted in the middle and combed backwards. On either side remains of a wreath. Height 5.5. XI, below floor.

478. Fragments of a seated, female terracotta statuette made in a mould. The head wears a veil leaving the front-hair uncovered. XI, below floor.

479. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Veiled bust of Faustina I, r.; around, on either side inscription DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. *Reverse*: Cybele, lowered, seated r. on throne between two lions, holding drum in left hand on left knee, right arm on throne; around, inscription MATRI DE VM SALVTARI SC. Diam. 3.58. Weight 26.4. V, floor.

480. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Constantin, r.; diadem; cuirass and himation; around, inscription CONSTANTINVS MAXAVG. *Reverse*: Two soldiers with helmets leaning against spears and shields; face to face; between them, two military signs; around, inscription, illegible; below CONS\*. Diam. 1.9. Weight 2.4. XVIII, floor.

481. Bronze coin. *Obverse* and *reverse* illegible. Diam. 14.7. Weight 1.5. XXII, below floor.

482. Bronze coin: *Obverse*: Bust of Constantin, r.; laureate; draped; with cuirass; around, inscription IMP CONSTANTINVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: Jupiter Sol standing with face to the left; radiate; half nude; holding globe in left hand; around, inscription SOLIINV I CTOCOMITI. Left of figure S; right of figure F. Below, four illegible letters. Diam. 2.1. Weight 2.5. VIII, floor.

483. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Valentinian II, r.; helmeted; cuirass; draped; around, inscription D N VALENTINIANVS PFAVG. *Reverse*: Emperor standing on a vessel; right of him, Victory at helm; around, inscription GLORIA ROMANORVM. Below SMNE. Left of emperor, wreath. Diam. 2.3. Weight 6.6. VIII, floor.

484. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Licinius, l.; with helmet and cuirass; holding a spear on right shoulder; around, inscription DN VALLICIN LICINIVS NOBC. *Reverse*: Jupiter standing with face to the left, holding a Victory on a globe and a spear, crowned by an eagle. At his feet, left, eagle with wreath in the beak; right, seated prisoner; around inscription IOVICON ERVATORI; above prisoner  $\Pi\Lambda$ ; below Jupiter SMNB. Diam. 1.9. Weight 3.1. VIII.

485. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bearded head, r.; possibly that of Ammon. *Reverse*: illegible. Diam. 1.4. Weight 2.0. XI, below floor.

486. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Ammon, r.; surrounding circle. *Reverse*: Eagle standing on the thunderbolt; closed wings; left of eagle flower, ☼; around, inscription *ITO*, the rest illegible. Diam. 1.3. Weight 2.1. XI, below floor.
487. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Arsinoe III, r.; lower part preserved; encircling, dotted line. *Reverse*: Double cornucopia with various fruits; encircling, dotted line; around, inscription *ITO.AEMA* (rest illegible). Diam. 1.0. Weight 1.6. XI, below floor.
488. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Ammon, r.; inside dotted circle. *Reverse*: Two eagles with closed wings facing to left. In front of the eagles, the sign ☼; around, inscription, illegible on left side; on right side, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*. Diam. 2.3. Weight 5.9. XI, on floor.
489. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Helmeted head of Constantinople, l.; around (left and right) *VRBS ROMA*. *Reverse*: Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf. Above, two stars; below, inscription *CONS* (last letter illegible). Diam. 1.8. Weight 1.6. VI, floor.
490. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Aurelianus, r.; radiate, cuirassed; around, inscription *IMP CAVRELIANVS AVG*. *Reverse*: Woman standing, r.; presenting wreath to emperor, standing, holding sceptre or spear; around, inscription *RESTITVT OP BIS*  
S  
XXI. Diam. 2.2. Weight 3.8. Stray find.
491. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Bust of Constantin, r.; laureate; around, inscription *IMP CONSTANTINVS PFAVG*. *Reverse*: Jupiter Sol standing, l.; radiate, half-nude; globe in left hand; around, inscription, *SOLIIN VICTOCOMITI*. Left of figure, R; right of figure, S; below, four letters, illegible. Diam. 1.9. Weight 3.0. Stray find.
492. Finger-ring of bronze with oval bezel; the stone missing. Diam. 1.7. XVI, floor.
493. Fragments of a thin plaque of dark, blue marble, with an inscription in Greek characters. See Appendix I. VII—VIII.
494. Moulded terracotta lamp; base moulded with concentric circles; at the centre a sign III is impressed; on the base-ring, four small circles; vertical handle with three incised lines and pierced by three holes; small, plain nozzle; small circles alternating with double-spirals on rim; on the discus, large lion in relief; face to the left, raised tail; behind it, a tree with branches; the lion is vigorously moulded. Length 21.0. Diam. 14.8. VIII.
495. Female terracotta statuette; made in a mould; head missing; solid clay. Isolinear feet; upright body; right hand holding the pendant of a necklace; left arm holds the folds of the himation, which hangs over left shoulder. Plain, curved back. Height 11.1. Width of shoulders 4.8. IX.
496. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; no handle; volutes on nozzle; moulded rosette on discus; central hole. The whole covered with thin, red slip. Length 9.0. Stray find.
497. Female statuette of yellowish, coarse-grained marble. Head missing. The statuette stands on a comparatively large base with right leg bent across the left, on which she stands, leaning against a square pillar with moulded edge. The right leg is visible under the dress. Right arm straight downwards, resting on the pillar; left arm akimbo with the hand resting easily on the hip in an elegant position. The long chiton, close to the slender body, imparts to the statuette a charming rhythm. It covers the feet entirely and is gathered together below the breast by a ribbon. On the back, a shawl hangs from right shoulder to the left upper arm whence it falls down to about the knees. The lower part of the back is almost unsculptured. Height 35.2. Feet to shoulder 29.0. Shoulders 9.0. Base sq. 14.5 × 18.2. VI, floor.
498. Seated, female terracotta statuette; made in a mould. Dull shape and details. Long, plain tunic and shawl over both shoulders; conical head-dress. Grey, gritty clay. Height 12.0. VI, floor.
499. Male statue of hard, grey limestone. Feet, forearms, and head missing. Surface weathered. Right leg slightly bent; upright body; left arm bent. Short-sleeved chiton and himation over left shoulder and wound around body and legs. Legs are not sculptured free from the background. Flat back. Height 54.0. Shoulders 20.5. VI, floor.
500. Male head of hard limestone; very much worn; no details distinguishable. The head showed good work. Height 13.0. VI, floor.
501. Male head of hard limestone; broken through neck. Round face; straight mouth; large eyes with eyelids. Height 11.8. VI, floor.
502. Female head of hard, grey limestone; broken through neck; chin damaged; surface corroded. Similar to No. 518. Height 21.5. Width 14.5. Temples 10.4. Forehead to back 18.5. VI, floor.
503. Male head of hard limestone; much corroded; broken through chin. The face looks like a portrait; short, wide nose and worried eyes. High forehead and no hair. Height 20.0. Width 13.4. Forehead to back 16.2. VI, floor.
504. Small, male terracotta head. Height 2.9. XI, on the rock.
505. Small, female terracotta head. Height 3.8. XI, on the rock.
506. Small, female terracotta head. Height 4.8. XI, on the rock.
507. Torso of nude, male statue of hard, grey limestone. Lower part from knees and upper part with the breast and the arms missing. Left leg was slightly advanced. On the back and left side a himation is hanging with vertical folds. A large piece of the abdomen with the

- male limb has been hewn away from the sculpture, possibly intentionally. Height 32.0. LIV, among slip-stones.
508. Torso of a female statue in hard, grey limestone; lower part from hips, arms, and head missing. The piece shows that the statue was represented in a great motion; body turned to the left; both arms were uplifted. The statue wears a vertically folded chiton close to the body and gathered in by a ribbon tied just below the breast. A part of a himation with a carefully worked mass of folds around the hips. Roughly sculptured back. The statue may have made a part of a group. Height 22.7. Breast to back 8.6. LIV, among fallen stones.
509. Head of a lion in hard limestone; broken through neck; tips of ears missing; surface worn. The mouth is half open with four teeth visible. Whiskers sculptured as incised lines; the eyes are comparatively small and deeply set. On the sides the muscles are naturalistically marked. The head may belong to a statue similar to Nos. 312, 313 (cf. above). Height 14.0. Width 10.0. LIV.
510. Lion's head of white marble probably used as an outlet for water. The technique is rough with carelessly sculptured eyes and nose. The back is flat. The whole head is pierced by a large circular hole from back, coming out through the mouth. On the upper side there is another hole which possibly served the purpose for fixing the head. Nose to back 12.0. Width 17.0. XXIII, floor.
511. Large, female head, of a statue probably representing Aphrodite. Coarse-grained, white marble with yellowish patina; broken through neck; face badly damaged. Neck is stiff and provided with three horizontal wrinkles. Rounded, oval face with full cheeks. The eyes are deeply set, the stress being laid on the lids, which are large and softly sculptured. The middle of the forehead is prominent and the base of the nose is broad. The long, wavy hair is parted in the middle, combed backwards and tied on the nape of the neck. The hair is gathered in by a ribbon around the skull. Below the hair parts of the ears visible. The hair is very softly sculptured. No deep borings are to be seen, all the planes are gently softened without any distinct contours. Height 27.0. Total width 19.8. Temples 12.8. Forehead to nape of neck above tie 18.4. XXIII, just below floor.
512. Square plaque of grey, hard limestone. On one side there is an inscription in Greek characters on three lines. This is partly damaged by two incised, concentric circles. Evidently the inscribed slab has been re-used for another purpose, possibly as a base for a column. See Pl. XXV, 2. Length 30.0. Width 28.0. V, floor.
513. *Omphalos*, conical slightly convex sides. The uppermost top is broken. As pieces of gypsum mortar was found on the sides it seems to have been used as building stone. Height 18.5. Diam. 18.0. Stray find.
514. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378. Length 7.9. XXVI, surface layer.
515. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 378, but with plain edge. Length 8.8. XXVI, surface layer.
516. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 351, but with two dolphins face to face instead of the eagle. Length 8.4. XXIII, floor.
517. Female head of hard, grey limestone, broken below neck, part much worn. Head turned slightly to the right. Oval face with rounded full cheeks; mouth distinctly marked and aquiline, short, broad nose with concave front and nose-line. The eyes are distinctly sculptured with arched upper lids and almost straight lower lids. The hair is parted in the middle and arranged with five flat melon rolls on each side which cover the ears. On the nape of the neck is a small flat cap, vertically placed on the hair. The cap seems to be a woollen one. Two ribbons are hanging down from its centre. Height 20.0. Total width 11.5. Temples 9.5. Forehead to back of head 14.0. In Wall 20.
518. Female head of hard limestone, probably representing Aphrodite; broken through the neck. Head slightly turned to the left. Surface rather worn. Oval face with rounded chin, small mouth with deeply sculptured corners. The base of the neck is broad. The eyes are deeply set, looking upwards. The eyelids are very softly treated with somewhat arched upper lids and heightened lower lids. The gently curved forehead has a prominent middle. The long, wavy hair is parted in the middle, combed backwards and tied at the nape of the neck. The hair is gathered in round the crown by a ribbon. All over the head is sculptured with a very soft technique similar to that of No. 425. Height 21.5. Total width 15.8. Temples 10.7. Among slip-stones from Wall 20.
519. Female head of hard limestone similar to No. 518, but with a wreath in the hair. The face is badly damaged. Height 20.5. Total width 14.8. Temples 10.8. In Wall 20.
520. Male head of hard, grey limestone, representing Alexander the Great. Broken below the neck. The head is slightly turned to the left. Short and powerful neck; face carefully sculptured with a strong, prominent chin. The aquiline mouth is deeply bored. The eyes are very distinctly cut with elliptical eyelids and marked eyebrows. The gently curved forehead has a prominent middle. Straight front and front- and nose-line. The long realistic, wavy hair grows from the forehead like a palmette and falls down in great disorder on each side of the head, covering the ears. On the back of the head, the long hair falls in wavy curls. The drill is often used for sculpturing the hair, especially in the deep parts at the sides of the face. Height 22.5. Total width 16.0. Temples 10.0. Forehead to back 18.0. In Wall 20.
521. Female head of hard, grey limestone, broken through the neck. Nose broken; surface worn. The face is oval with rounded chin and cheeks; small, aquiline

- mouth with deep corners. The nose is short and broad, with bored nostrils. The eyes are very distinctly sculptured with arched upper lids and almost straight lower lids. Gently curved forehead with thick brows. The hair seems to be parted in the middle and arranged with melon rolls near the partition. On the nape of the neck, the long hair is gathered in from below and wound into a loose, hanging tie. Height 19.0. Total width 12.0. Temples 9.5. Among stones fallen from Wall 20.
522. Female head of hard, grey limestone, broken through neck. Nose and forehead damaged. Oval face with full chin and cheeks, sloping line below chin; thin, aquiline mouth with depressed corners; small, thin nose with nostrils and gently curved base. The eyes look half closed with elliptical, distinctly cut lids and heavy brows. Gently curved forehead. The hair and head-dress similar to that on No. 517. Height 16.5. Total width 10.8. Temples 8.8. Forehead to back 11.7. Wall 20.
523. Plain White bowl; rounded base; out-turned, moulded rim. Red clay. Diam. 12.3. II, below floor.
524. Plain White bowl with flat base; straight sides, widening upwards; wide, flat rim. Diam. 11.5. XXVII.
525. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; straight sides, widening upwards; pierced, vertical edge; nozzle on rim; cymatium on edge; on discus, radiating lines encircled by a wreath of leaves. Length 11.7. XXVIII.
526. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 525. Length 11.6. XXVIII.
527. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 525. Length 11.5. XXVIII.
528. Moulded terracotta lamp; shape as No. 525; impressed leaves on edge; plain discus. Length 10.5. XXVIII.
529. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 528. Parts missing. XXVIII.
- 529 a. Moulded terracotta lamp, as No. 525, but with plain discus. Length 12.8. XXVIII.
530. Male head of hard, grey limestone broken below neck. Nose and mouth scratched. Short, thick neck; round face with full cheeks; small, straight mouth; short nose; eyes are summarily worked with comparatively sharp lines in the elliptical lids. The large, protruding ears seem to have been placed too high. Short, curly hair. Height 11.5. Total width 8.0. Temples 6.2. In Wall 20.
531. Female head of hard, grey limestone, broken below the chin. Nose broken. Long, oval face with carefully worked mouth, nose with broad base; elliptical, deeply set eyes with distinctly sculptured lids. Gently curved brows and forehead. The long hair is combed backwards, indistinctly parted in the middle and tied on the nape of the neck. On top of the crown, is a hole filled with lead apparently for fixing a head-dress. Height 14.0. Total width 12.5. Temples 8.5. Mouth to back of head 16.0. In Wall 144.
532. Female head of white, fine-grained marble made separately from the body to be set into a depression on it. Nose and part of forehead badly damaged, put together of four pieces. The neck is comparatively long with a faintly marked, horizontal wrinkle. Oval face with full chin and small mouth. Eyes and mouth sculptured in the same soft technique as on No. 425. The hair is parted in the middle and combed backwards, and falls down in waves. The hair is tied up by a ribbon around the crown. Below the neck, the upper part of breast visible. Back of the head unsculptured. Traces of red paint on the lips. Height 21.5. Total width 9.5. Temples 6.8. Partly below Stair 161.
533. Eagle of hard, grey limestone. Lower part of legs and head missing. The bird stands with its left foot slightly advanced; the body is in an upright position. The wings are folded close to the body. The feathers are sculptured in a naturalistic way. Length 49.0. LIV, below floor.
534. Male statue of hard, grey limestone. Head missing. Large, irregular base with slightly bent upper side. The statue rests on left leg with right leg slightly bent backwards. The body is upright. Right arm close to the body; left forearm raised, the hand holding the end of the himation hanging from left shoulder. Folded chiton with short sleeves. Across the abdomen and thighs a himation is wound, the end of which hangs over left shoulder. Legs and feet bare, not sculptured free from the background. The technique is rude, the folds being stiff and sharp-ridged. Plain back. Height 42.0. LIV, below floor.
535. Male statue sitting in the conventional "temple-boy" attitude. Right forearm and head missing. Right foot, left knee, and part of the bird damaged. The boy wears shoes and a short tunic with short sleeves and a necklace ending in a knot with a tassel. The body is very plastic with rounded outlines. Height 28.0. LIV, below floor.
536. Body of a sitting sphinx in hard, grey limestone. Base with tibiae on hind-legs, forelegs, upper parts of wings, and head missing. The body is very naturalistically sculptured; the tail is curled under the body and projects on the inside of left hind-leg; two rows of feathers visible at the bases of the wings. Well marked, female breasts. Length 60.0. LIV, below floor.
537. Moulded, female terracotta head broken off obliquely through the neck. Oval face with small, somewhat smiling mouth. Veil over crown extending down as himation; fracture on the crown of some high head-dress. Height 5.1. Offering pit of Altar 145.
538. Moulded, female terracotta head; broken off below neck. Tanagra-type. Hair parted in the middle and combed backwards. Above crown a diadem with impressed punctures. Height 4.7. Pit of Altar 145.
539. Female terracotta head of Tanagra-type; broken off below neck. The head was somewhat turned to the left. Hair parted in the middle and combed back-



- wards. Around crown, a ribbon tied to a rosette above forehead. Traces of red paint on rosette on hair. Height 5.0. Pit of Altar 145.
540. Female terracotta head of Tanagra-type; broken off below neck. Rounded face with full cheeks; hair parted in the middle; diadem-like head-dress from which a veil hangs down over back of head and shoulders. Height 5.2. Pit of Altar 145.
541. Female head of Tanagra-type; broken off through neck. Long hair parted in the middle. High moulded head-dress from which a veil hangs down over shoulders. Height 4.8. Pit of Altar 145.
542. Female terracotta head, as No. 474. Height 6.0. Pit of Altar 145.
543. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Ammon, r.; in dotted circle. *Reverse*: One eagle with closed wings; standing on thunderbolt; in front of the eagle,  $\swarrow$  with a star above; around, inscription illegible. Diam. 2.4. Weight 7.0. LIV, below floor.
544. Bearded terracotta head; lower part. Cf. No. 570.
545. Terracotta lamp with somewhat raised base; slightly curved sides; outturned rim pinched into a nozzle. Rim damaged. Length 8.0. XXX, on the rock.
546. Terracotta lamp, as No. 545. Length 8.5. XXX, on the rock.
547. Male head of hard, grey limestone, broken below the neck, which is short and slightly concave. The face is oval with full chin and cheeks; thick lips; slightly concave brow- and nose line. The eyes are sharply outlined and obliquely placed; arched upper lids and almost straight lower lids. The forehead is well marked and makes an almost right angle with the upper side of the. The ears are large and clumsy. The hair is short with the tips of the curls cut along an incised line. Height 14.0. Temples 8.0. XXX.
548. Bronze coin; similar to No. 487. Diam. 1.3. Weight 1.9. XXXVI, below floor.
549. Bronze coin. *Obverse*: Head of Soter, r.; wearing diadem and *aegis*. *Reverse*: eagle standing with opened wings on the thunderbolt, l.; around, inscription, partly illegible  $\text{ITOAE} \text{M} \text{AIOT} \text{B} \text{AS} \text{I} \text{AE} \Omega \Sigma$ ; to the left of eagle two signs, above  $\text{EY}$  and below  $\text{X}$ . Diam. 1.9. Weight 7.6. XXXVI, below floor.
550. Flat loom-weight; oval in shape; pierced by a hole. Length 7.5. XXIV, below floor.
551. Moulded terracotta lamp; flattened base; vertical handle pierced by two holes. On discus, radiating, relief lines surrounded by a wreath; volutes on nozzle; mottled varnish outside and inside. Length 14.1. XXVI, level 115.0.
552. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base, circular rim probably without handle; triangular nozzle. Length 7.5. XXVI, level 115.0.
553. Plain White bottle; flat base; pear-shaped body; neck missing. Height 6.6. XXVI, level 115.0.
554. Moulded terracotta lamp; flat base; high, almost straight side widening upwards. No handle; on discus a peacock in relief facing to the right. Volutes on nozzle. Parts of nozzle and discus missing. Length 7.4. II, cavity below floor.
555. Terracotta lamp; flat base, somewhat curved sides; out-turned rim pinched to a nozzle, part of rim missing; Length 7.0. II, below floor.
556. Terracotta lamp, as No. 552. Back part missing. Length 6.8. XXVI, level 115.0.
557. Terracotta lamp, as No. 555. One side damaged. Length 7.4. II, below floor.
558. Flat, circular loom-weight of terracotta, pierced near the edge. Diam. 4.6. II, below floor.
559. Flat, circular loom-weight of terracotta, pierced in the centre. Diam. 5.5. II, below floor.
560. Loom-weight, as No. 559. Diam. 5.3. II, below floor.
561. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 558. Diam. 7.6. II, below floor.
562. Loom-weight of terracotta, as 558, but thicker; very coarse clay. Diam. 6.9. II, below floor.
563. Loom-weight of terracotta in shape of a truncated pyramid; pierced near the top. Height 6.4. II, below floor.
564. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 563. Height 6.9. II, below floor.
565. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 563. Height 5.3. II, below floor.
566. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 558. Diam. 6.4. II, below floor.
567. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559. Diam. 7.5. II, below floor.
568. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559. Diam. 7.1. II, below floor.
569. Wheel-made terracotta lamp; slightly raised base; biconical body; narrow, central filling hole with somewhat moulded edge; long nozzle. On one side, pierced knob on body. Black, dull glaze. Length 8.1. II, below floor.
- 570 + 544. Terracotta head, bearded, representing Serapis; broken through eyes; striated curls hanging over forehead; high, conical head-dress with a frontal design, now missing. Height 18.0. No. 544 found in XXV, at level 102.0; No. 570 in XXX.
571. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559. Diam. 7.1. II, tomb below floor.
572. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 550. Length 7.6. II, tomb below floor.
573. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559, but thicker. Diam. 4.2. II, tomb below floor.
574. Black Lustrous II bowl with raised base-ring; curved sides; inturned rim. Dull, black glazed inside and partly outside. Diam. 12.4. II, below floor.
575. Wheel-made terracotta lamp; somewhat raised base-ring; narrow filling hole; horizontal nozzle; pierced knob on right side of body. Length 6.1. XXX.
576. Moulded terracotta lamp with flat base; wavy knobs on rim; volutes on nozzle. On discus, two clusters

- of grape in relief. Part of lamp missing. Length 8.1. XXV, deposit.
577. Moulded terracotta lamp, flat base; vertical, pierced handle; small, triangular nozzle; impressed leaves on rim; on discus, peacock seen from in front with outspread tail. Length 9.2. XXV, deposit.
578. Miniature terracotta jar; curved sides; two knobs on the side, as handles. Height 3.3. XV, level 110.0.
579. Loom-weight of terracotta as No. 550. Length 8.3. LIV, below floor.
580. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 550. Length 7.5. LIV, below floor.
581. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559. Diam. 7.5. LIV, below floor.
582. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 558. Diam. 5.0. XLII.
583. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 558. Diam. 7.3. VIII.
584. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 550. Length 8.3. XV, level 122.0.
585. Loom-weight of terracotta, as No. 559. Diam. 7.6. XV, level 120.0.

## CLASSIFICATION OF FINDS

### *Pottery* (Pls. XXIX, XXX).

Up to date, there does not exist a proper classification of the Cypro-Hellenistic and the Cypro-Roman pottery. The few attempts at dealing with this chapter of Cypriote archaeology have not been brought further than, possibly, to separate the Hellenistic pottery from the Roman one. The various vases of the periods concerned have never been discussed and in the same way the chronological sequence and development of the different types and shapes have been neglected in literature. Gjerstad's classification of the Cypriote pottery is not carried further than to the Hellenistic period, as practically no material then existed on which a definite classification could be based. The task of doing this is very difficult, and problematic, as long as so few tomb groups are known. With the fragmentary material collected from the various strata of the Soli excavation it will certainly not be possible to follow all the faint alterations in the development of shapes and decorations as during the earlier periods. The following classification of the pottery is entirely limited to the Soli material and may serve only as a foundation for a more definite classification of all the Cypro-Hellenistic and Cypro-Roman pottery. As to the terminology it may be said that, as a general rule, the same system is adopted as in Gjerstad's Classification. This has proved to be very useful as regards the periods it deals with. The main groups of the classes are kept apart by means of the different names of the classes, and the variations which can be distinguished within the groups are indicated by Roman figures. Later on will be discussed, how these vase classes are distributed between the various strata. It is true that some of these classes are known from other sites. In some cases they are called in literature by names usually referring to the localities where the pottery first was found. In other cases, the origin of the pottery has been traced with some degree of certainty and it has been called after these localities. This holds good as regards some of the red wares which are called Pergamene or Samian, etc. As to the Pergamene ware it is recorded from many a site of Hellenistic date such as Priene, Athens, Corinth, Samos, and Olbia and it certainly will appear in others too. The Pergamene origin of this pottery, however, is not definitely settled, especially as the ware not is characteristic of Pergamon itself. The question of the so called Samian

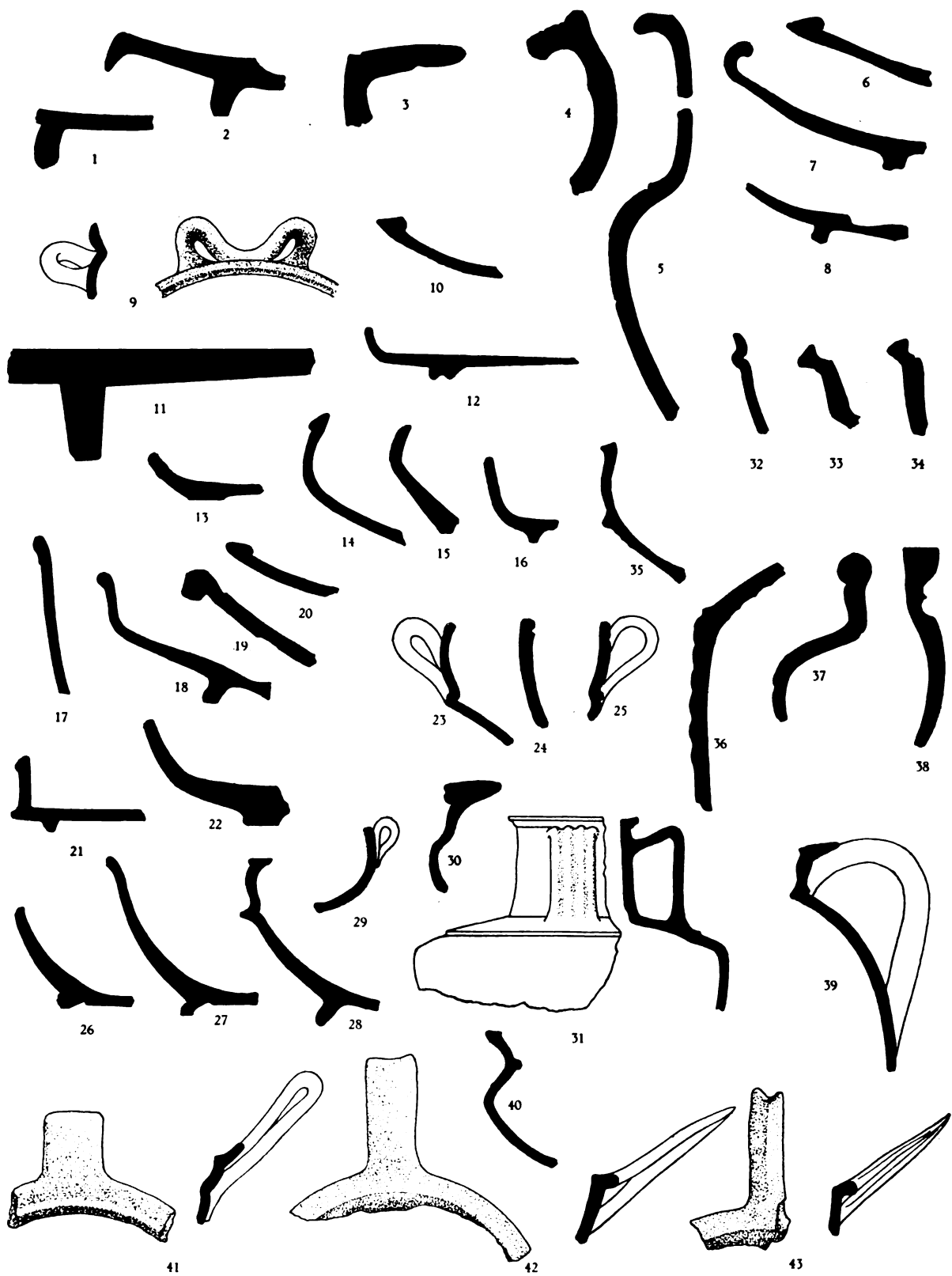


Fig. 63. Soli. Sections of pottery sherds.

ware remains in a similar state. This kind of pottery has been found at many places in Greece and Asia Minor and its Samian origin may well still be doubted. In any case it seems safer not to accept a terminology based upon mere suggestions as to the origin of the pottery. In the following pages the wares are distinguished and their characteristic features serve as foundation for the terminology.

### Black Lustrous I Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware is wheel-made and shows a highly developed technical skill. The technique is entirely dependent on the Black Glazed Ware of the Late Classical Period. The clay is always well silted and hard baked; red in colour. On the clay is applied a very glossy, lustrous glaze sometimes with an iridescence of blue. In most cases the glaze has remained intact. As a rule the glaze covers the whole pot but sometimes horizontal encircling lines are omitted. On such parts the red clay is visible. This pottery is well paralleled from other Hellenistic sites (cf. below).

#### *Shape.*

The most frequent shapes are bowls usually shallow and sometimes very large; with a high base-ring; curved or angular sides and plain rim. Other bowls have a wide base-ring almost horizontal sides and wide, downturned rim; in the centre, there is a curved depression. Only few sherds of jugs are represented. Sherds of the lower part of the body are preserved, on which carefully fluted grooves are noted. There are also fragments of large amphorae the shapes of which cannot be determined. Fragments of very large lamps are noticeable, with a thick short nozzle. (Fig. 63, 1—3).

#### *Decoration.*

As a rule this ware is undecorated. On some specimens of the bowls, the bottom is decorated with impressed ornaments of which palmettes are the most frequent.

### Black Lustrous II Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware is wheel-made, sometimes worked over subsequently; in some cases the bodies of large amphorae are vertically grooved or have impressed ornaments on the rim. The clay is grey or brown and differs from that of the Black Lustrous I Ware, which is red. It is not so hard as the latter and shows in general an inferior quality. The lustre, too, is inferior in comparison to that of the Black Lustrous I Ware. It has not the same shiny surface, but is nearly mat and sometimes rather coarse. Though it has not the deep black colour of the previous ware it still is black or slightly mottled into red. As a rule, the lustre does not cover the whole vase: on the bowls, as a rule the whole inside but only the upper part of the outside is covered, the base being plain. On larger vases, e. g. the amphorae, the bases also are



lustrous. Usually the surface is well preserved but sometimes there are a great many diminutive patches worn off. This is probably because the lustre is very thin and the clay not so finely silted.

### *Shape.*

As regards the shapes, this ware is characterized by a clear degeneration of the previous ware and it is sometimes difficult to make clear distinctions between the two classes. The shapes show a good many varieties. Some of the bowls, of small size, are of the same type as No. 574: small thick base-ring, curved sides and inturned rim. Other bowls are more shallow and provided with a very small depression in the centre, the sides are straight and the rim swollen. In a few cases, a thick horizontal handle is noted on bowls with angular outline and raised rim. Another type of bowl has slightly curved sides and sharply inbent rim. A peculiarly shaped handle is found on open bowls with somewhat moulded rim. The handles are placed horizontally just below the rim; the middle of the handle is depressed against the rim so that two loops arise. The jugs are of various shape. Common are the so called tear-bottles with diminutive base, spool-shaped body, and narrow, concave neck. There are also fragments of depressed globular jugs with raised base-ring, narrow concave neck and cup-shaped rim, a type which seems to have developed from the Cypro-Classical lekythos. Another variation of the same type is ovoid in shape and provided with a very small base-ring. The neck is narrow. As far as can be stated there are no fragments of jugs of large size. The shape of the amphorae can not be entirely determined, as the fragments preserved constitute too small portions of the vases. They probably had a foot; the sides are bulging; the gentle neck was finished in a softly splaying rim. The vertical handles run from rim to shoulder. Whether there also was a type with horizontal handles could not be ascertained. (Fig. 63, 4—9).

### *Decoration.*

The Black Lustrous II Ware is usually undecorated, but sometimes there are decorations of two kinds: amphorae are decorated with impressed, ovule ornaments on the rim; around the shoulder there is sometimes a frieze of vertical grooves. White supplementary colour is also used as decoration on the neck and around the body; the motives are usually a wreath of ivy-leaves, sometimes combined with an incised design. Similar incisions are in a few cases found inside the bowls. Other bowls are horizontally grooved.

## Mat Black Ware.

### *Technique.*

This ware most likely constitutes a development of the previous ware. The degeneration of the ware is carried further, but this holds good only as regards the lustre which here is merely a slip. The clay is good and rather hard; sometimes the walls of the vases are very thin, especially on some of the cups. As a rule, the clay is grey, on rare occasions chang-

ing to pale red or pink. The lustre of the surface has entirely disappeared. The slip is mat. A characteristic feature is that the colour of the slip is no longer so well defined as on the previous vases. The slip is only rarely definitely black; usually it is grey, sometimes it is mottled to red or dark brown, in which case the ware comes near the Mat Red Ware. On some fragments the inside of the vase, usually a bowl, has got a red slip and the outside a black.

#### *Shape.*

The shapes of this ware are as a rule developed from the previous ware. The plates or bowls with straight sides known from the Black Lustrous II Ware have the rim somewhat downturned. The mouldings at the rim differ, too, so that the original prototype of the Black Lustrous I Ware now is hardly to recognize. Other bowls are cup-shaped, angular and provided with vertical knobbed handles. The most typical bowl of this ware, however, has a small base, sloping sides, a sharp ridge around the side which separates the somewhat curved, vertical rim from the lower part of the bowl. This type has a small vertical handle on the rim. The type seems to have developed also in Black Lustrous II Ware, but there the rim is very short and more curved. Another type of bowls is shallow and has curved sides with a plain rim.

The jugs do not show so many types. Some of them are oval in shape with a gently tapering shoulder and splaying mouth. Some of these jugs are very carefully made while others show a coarse technique. The handle is carelessly placed on the shoulder from the neck.

#### *Decoration.*

As a rule, this ware is undecorated, but some of the bowls have incised, encircling lines around the sides.

### Red Lustrous I Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware is wheel-made. It is entirely different to the Black Lustrous I Ware and should not be confused with that. The clay is buff or light red often not very hard baked. It always keeps the same colour all through. The walls of the vases — even vases of larger size — are thin. There are, however, some bowls or plates with very thick bottom. On the inside of jugs and amphorae there are often very distinct marking of the potter's hands when turning the pot on the wheel. The lustre is light red and shiny. It is always darker than the clay of the pot and, as a rule, it covers the whole surface, even below the base. Usually the lustre is well preserved but in cases when it is worn, it appears rather mat due to the great many diminutive, small patches where the clay is visible through. The impressed ornaments are very shallow; almost impossible to indicate by means of a photograph.

#### *Shape.*

Characteristic of this ware is a very thick and large plate on a high, wide base-ring and angular outline. Another kind of plate has no base-ring; upturned, thickening rim. Well

defined fragments of shallow bowls or plates have a very angular outline, horizontal, flat bottom on a wide base-ring and encircling ridges around bottom and rim. On similar plates the base-ring is missing. As to the bowls there are several types: many kinds of cup-shaped bowls with handles and more or less angular outline. A comparatively deep bowl has round bottom; gently curved sides, and somewhat stilted rim. It must be pointed out here that the Red Lustrous I Ware has very few shapes common with those described under the Black Lustrous I—II Wares. The bowls so peculiar to the Black Lustrous I—II Wares are entirely absent here.

As most of the jugs are broken into very small pieces it is practically impossible to determine the shape of any of them. One kind of amphora had angular outline; ridge on shoulder; cylindrical or slightly tapering neck with somewhat moulded rim; vertical, grooved handles from neck to shoulder. (Fig. 63, 11, 12).

#### *Decoration.*

This ware is never painted. Some of the bowls, however, are decorated with impressed patterns. These are usually very minute and carefully made. The motives are ovules around the rim, bands of parallel lines framed by encircling lines, the whole encircling the centre of the bottom. This decoration is found on some of the plates. The bowls with hemispherical bottom are sometimes grooved on the outside.

### Red Lustrous II Ware.

#### *Technique.*

As far as can be ascertained this ware constitutes a continuation and further development of the Red Lustrous I Ware. The clay does not differ from the clay of that ware but there is a distinct change as to the lustre. The shiny lustre is no more there. The surface is not so glossy or carefully worked. It gives a coarse impression when touched with the fingers. Generally the lustre is thinner; sometimes the traces of the brush are noted as darker or lighter patches. The colour, too, has changed. Besides the light red there are many sherds of dark or light brown colour, sometimes mottled to black. Only on rare occasions the base has been slipped on the underside.

#### *Shape.*

This ware shows a great many varieties as to the shapes of the pots. The extremely angular plates of the previous ware seem not to be common in the Red Lustrous II Ware. Some plates have no base-ring but wide, flat rim. Another kind of plate with upturned, somewhat curved rim shows many variations. A very shallow bowl with base-ring; straight, almost horizontal sides, and swollen rim is known from the Black Lustrous I—II Wares and the Mat Black Ware where the whole development of the type can be studied. The same can be said of the bowls of the same shape as No. 574. Though relatively rare the shape is known in this ware, too, sometimes the outside of the bowl is mottled to black, while the inside

has the characteristic Red Lustrous surface. Another kind of bowl has a base-ring, curved sides, and out-turned rim. In several layers, fragments of large, deep bowls were found which have a moulded, depressed rim, rather wide; somewhat angular sides. The jugs have usually a tapering, narrow neck with annular rim and sloping shoulder. As a rule, the vertical handle is grooved at the middle.

#### *Decoration.*

This ware is decorated with incisions or paintings. On rare occasions both kinds of decoration are used together. The incisions mainly consist of bands of short lines or notches which encircle the body of the vases both on bowls and jugs. These notched patterns are of various design and mainly to be found on large bowls and jugs; either short, rather careless notches on the surface or chains or groups of parallel lines. As a rule, they are localized to the outside of the vases, but on some of the large shallow bowls or plates the patterns are found on the bottom, inside, in a way which reminds one of the impressed patterns of the Black Lustrous I Ware. Some fragments show that there existed bowls with grooved outsides. The painted decorations are made in white, supplementary colour sometimes designed by means of incisions made after the baking. A few fragments of bowls have a dotted line in white paint just below the rim, on the outside.

### Mat Red Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware might be a further development of the previous ware, though the changes in many respects are very distinct. The vases are always wheel-made. The clay is hard and grey in colour sometimes changing to buff or pale red. The walls are thin and no large vases are represented. If the clay cannot show any features indicating a definite change from the clay of the Red Lustrous II Ware the slip, however, is easily distinguished from the slip of that ware. The surface is now entirely mat covered by a brownish red slip, usually very thin, but sometimes thicker. The colour is always mottled, from patches of dark brown to light red. Often there are a great many small patches worn off the slip patches where the colour of the clay comes through. It is noted on many sherds of the bowls that the inside colour is not exactly the same as that of the outside, which often is somewhat lighter. Due to the brownish tint of the slip, this ware sometimes is difficult to distinguish from the Mat Black Ware which also has a brownish colour.

#### *Shape.*

As regards the material concerned, the shapes associated with this ware are very few. A kind of cup with small base-ring, sloping, almost straight sides, vertical, somewhat convex rim which starts with a sharp ridge encircling the side of the cups are paramount. Just above this ridge, there is a vertical loop-handle with one or two flutes in the middle. A similar kind of cup has no ridge on the side, but otherwise an angular outline. Sometimes they are



provided with one or two grooves below the rim. The sherds which can be attributed to the jugs are very small and no distinct shapes can be made out.

### Black Polished I Ware.

#### *Technique.*

As this ware is represented only by a few fragments one is chary in making general suggestions as to the nature of the ware. The fragments in question have a grey clay, very finely silted and rather soft in comparison with the hard Black Lustrous Wares. On both sides, the vases are covered with a black slip which is polished to a highly glossy lustre. Thus the ware gives the impression of polished ebony.

#### *Shape.*

Only bowls are represented as regards this ware. One of them is shallow, with angular outline and moulded, outturned rim. This is of a rather thick ware. Another type of bowl has softly curved sides, and plain rim. Just below the rim, there is a ridge on the outside; on the inside there is a corresponding groove. Whether these bowls were provided with handles or not cannot be ascertained, as no traces of handles were found.

#### *Decoration.*

The ware is decorated with incisions only: encircling lines and bands composed of small impressions of various kind. The inside is plain as regards incisions but there, a kind of pattern is obtained by means of a certain gradation in the polish so that some mat lines make a contrast to the polished rest of the wall.

### Black Polished II Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware, too, is represented only by a few sherds. It is similar to the Black Polished I Ware but shows some typical distinctions. The clay is grey, finely silted and rather hard baked. The black slip, however, has not the glossy lustre of the Black Polished I Ware: it is half mat or even mat but very smooth on the surface which is perfectly well preserved.

#### *Shape.*

Only one kind of bowl is represented, known from the Black and Red Lustrous II Wares as well as from the Black, and Red Mat Wares: angular outline; vertical rim which starts from a ridge which encircles the side. (Fig. 63, 35).

### Monochrome Red Ware.

#### *Technique*

This ware should not be confused with the Red Lustrous I or II Wares though, at the first glance, the two are rather alike. While the clay of the Red Lustrous Wares always is

buff or light red, this ware shows a brick red clay. It is of almost exactly the same colour on the surface and all through. On the surface there is no mat slip or glaze; the surface has only been washed over. The surface is not lustrous but in a peculiar way half mat, as if had it been covered with wax. The clay is very hard and extremely well silted. All the pots seem to be wheel-made. A characteristic feature of the vases may be mentioned: on the outside, usually near the base, there are some faintly visible traces of the potter's hand in shape of thin, very regular ridges encircling the body, the rest being carefully smoothed by the wash. The rim of the bowls are either vaguely modelled or moulded, with distinct edges and sometimes provided with incised encircling lines.

*Shape.*

Bowls and plates only are represented. The plates have wide, low base-ring, and curved upturned sides with flat rim. The bowls can be classified in generally two types: one of them is rather primitive in shape with flat base; no base-ring; the sides rise gently from the bottom without marked edge; the sides are widening upwards and the rim is plain. The other type is like the plates but deeper. No fragments of handles of any kind can be ascribed to this ware.

*Decoration.*

Besides the encircling, incised lines mentioned above there is no decoration on this ware.

### White Painted Ware.

*Technique.*

Besides a few fragments of Early Iron Age White Painted pottery which are explained as accidental stray finds, a small amount of Hellenistic White Painted Ware was found. They are similar to the White Painted VII Ware and most likely constitute a continuation of this. The clay is coarse, rather soft; it breaks easily in small pieces. The outside is washed white. In comparison with the great amount of sherds of other classes this ware plays no role for the whole material.

*Shape.*

As all the pots of this ware are broken in small pieces no shapes can be determined. Judging from the sherds, however, the vases must have been of large size. The sherds might have come from amphorae or hydriae.

*Decoration.*

On the white wash, encircling bands were painted. The bands are brown in colour and the paint is mat and rather thin.

### Grooved Ware.

*Technique.*

Under this heading, various kinds of pottery are described which, however, have a common characteristic treatment of the surface: it is grooved in horizontal lines; either

wide grooves at some intervals from each other or more or less incised lines close together. The former kind is most frequent. Possibly the varieties mean nothing but a gradation of coarseness. Some of the fragments are very coarse and must be parts of large vases with a thickness of the walls of more than 1 cm. Another kind is very hard baked and dark in colour giving a metallic impression. As a rule, these are comparatively thin.

#### *Shape.*

No definite shapes can be described. Mainly amphorae are represented with more or less rounded base, somewhat concave sides; angular shoulder, and narrow rim. There are fragments also of amphorae with long neck and flat rim. (Fig. 63, 36).

#### *Decoration.*

Besides the grooves described above there is no decoration on this ware.

### White Slip Grooved Ware.

There are a number of sherds of the Grooved Ware covered by thick white slip which sometimes is partly worn away.

### Plain White Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware is generally represented by large vases, bowls, jugs or amphorae. The ware does not differ from the Plain White VII Ware of the Late Cypro-Classic period. It is hard and sometimes rather coarse. As a rule, the clay is of the same colour all through: buff, greenish yellow or pink; but sometimes the outside of the sherds is light yellow while the inside is pink or red. Usually the vases are washed over in some way sometimes with a very thick wash.

#### *Shape.*

As most of the fragments of this ware originate from large vases which are broken in small pieces it is practically impossible to determine the shape of any complete vases. Though the upper part of a vase often can be determined, it proved very difficult to find the lower part and vice versa. The following shapes are represented: bowls, jugs, and amphorae with flat or pointed base. The bowls are of various kind. A simple type is very shallow, with a small base; the sides splay almost horizontally; the rim is plain. There are no remains of handles belonging to these bowls. Other bowls are deeper. A common type has wide, flat rim and large, horizontal handles. On other bowls, wide handles are placed on the very rim, which is marked with mouldings. Often shapes common among wares, e.g. Black or Red Lustrous II Wares and Black or Red Mat Wares, are found among the Plain White Ware. Thus the shallow bowl with almost horizontal sides and moulded rim is noted, also the shallow bowl with high base-ring and angular outline. The shapes of the jugs, too, are

known from the previous wares. The ovoid jug with sloping shoulder, almost cylindrical neck, and flat, out-turned rim is common. Tear-bottles are also found. Sometimes the jugs have a considerable size and the twin-handle seems to be paramount as regards the jugs. Most of the sherds, without comparison, come from amphorae which on rare occasions have flat bottom. The amphorae with pointed base are by far the majority. A great many base-knobs are preserved showing some variations. Most common is a knob shaped as a spindle-whorl turned upside down and with a deep depression from below. A variation of this is more disc-shaped and provided with either a small depression from below or a faint boss at the centre. A third rather common type is thick and has cylindrical or slightly convex sides. The base is flat or somewhat concave. None of the amphorae have a long, pointed body but they seem all to be rather squat and rounded. The necks are either short and slightly concave or long and cylindrical; the latter shape has sometimes grooved sides. On amphorae with long neck the handles, as a rule, are sharply bent near the rim and sometimes provided with a stamp impression.

#### *Decoration.*

The Plain White Ware is decorated only on rare occasions. A peculiar kind of decoration is made by means of relief-bands laid in wavy lines. Sometimes they are ended with snakes' heads. Other vases are decorated with small impressed circles.

### Coarse Ware.

#### *Technique.*

This ware constitutes a very great part of the whole material of sherds, and many varieties as to the baking and shapes are noted. As a rule, the vases are rather thin and very hard. The colour changes from black to dark brown.

#### *Shape.*

The Coarse Ware usually varies very little from time to time and the same shapes are often used during long periods. In the material concerned here, however, it is possible to demonstrate a certain development of some of the types. We start with a bowl with flat base; straight sides, widening upwards, and flat rim. This bowl has a small handle shaped as a depressed loop placed just on the rim. This is the first stage in the development. Next stage is marked by the loop being depressed and elongated so that the handle now is like a straight, flat pin. The last stage of the development shows a straight handle with a ridge along the handle which is pinched out at the end to two horns. This development is demonstrated by the stratification. Other bowls have flat base and angular outline. The same shape is known from the Mat Black Ware. The cooking-pots have a well rounded body, sharply angular rim, and handles with circular section. The jugs and the amphoriskoi show a great many varieties of the same type. As a rule, they have flat base, ovoid body, wide, raised rim, and vertical handles. Some squat amphoriskoi with wide rim have rather wide, horizontal handles with circular section. (Fig. 63, 40—43).



*Sculptures**Marbles.**Material.*

All Cypriote marble sculptures are probably made of imported material. According to geologists, however, there exists a kind of local marble in the mountains above the village Bella Paise, but it is not likely that this spot was quarried in ancient time. There are no signs of ancient quarries. The marble used for the Soli sculptures, as for other marble sculptures found in Cyprus is coarse grained. In some cases, the marble is very hard and white in colour. Sculptures made of this kind are very well preserved as regards the surface, e. g. the Aphrodite head No. 438. Sometimes faint grey or blueish veins can be seen in this hard marble. Another kind is still coarser, but not of the same density. The surface crumbles easily and whole crystals can be picked out of the core. This loose kind of marble has, at least, in some cores e. g. in No. 497, a yellow colour, but in other cases, the soft marble can be white or blueish white. Usually the patina is yellow owing to the red earth in which they were found. It is true that the layers in the temple site where these sculptures were found, were not of the very red kind of earth noticeable over vast areas of Cyprus, but still the earth has affected the marbles in the same way as does the red earth.

*Technique.*

Judging by the material from Soli no very large pieces of marble have been used for the sculptures. Usually the heads, often even the small ones, were made separately from the body and fitted to it by means of an iron pin, or simply sunk in a depression on the body. In the same way, the statue was placed on the base. It is also worth noting that the marble statues very often had to be mended either before they were finished, or after they for some reason had been broken on the temple site. Even very small pieces have been mended. A deep hole was bored on both sides of the fracture, which is not usually levelled or filed off. The two broken pieces have been fixed together with an iron peg of suitable size. The iron is sometimes fixed to the marble with lead which has been melted into the hole around the peg. Often the iron has oxidized and given a red tinge to the marble, sometimes visible on the surface as a red or brown patch. On the small head No. 416, this spoils a good deal of the expression of the face. On the same head, too, it can be seen how the oxidized iron can cause cracks in the marble. — The treatment of the surface of the marble varies on different sculptures. Sometimes the drill is used to a great extent for instance in the hair, for modelling the ears, the mouth, and the nostrils. With the exception of the Agrippina portrait, however, deep borings are never used as a *decorative* element. On the head mentioned there is a deep bored puncture in the centre of all the small curls on the sides of the head. There, the borings must be intended as a stylizing of the hair-dress. This head is, however, through other features different from the rest of the marble sculptures. As regards these, the drill is entirely used as a technical help for excavating the deeper parts of the sculpture, and without any thought for the decorative effect. Usually the artist has tried, at least on the

better sculptures to remove all traces of the drill, which, however, in many cases can be noted at the corners of the mouth, behind the ears, and sometimes in the hair. This different use of the drill seems to be a good help for dating the sculptures, which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The smoothing of the surface also varies on different sculptures. The surface of the big sculptures is never polished, but finely smoothed. It is always more or less mat. The same treatment is noted also on most of the small statues. Some of these are rather roughly smoothed, as for instance No. 466, where, on the left side and part of the back, the fine grooves or traces of the tool can still be seen. On the left side, at least, the definite finish of the surface was connected with certain difficulties, for, evidently, some object was placed close to the body on this side. Only in one case, Nos. 416+463, all the surfaces representing the skin have been carefully polished. The hair is marked by fine grooves made by the drill, and this part is not polished.

It is evident that not all sculptures are meant to be seen from all sides. Thus the large head No. 438, is entirely unsculptured at the back. The almost flat back surface was probably fixed to a wall or the like, as a strong iron rod is broken off on the back. The small statuette, No. 497 was also hardly intended to be seen from the back, and this side was therefore rather neglected by the artist. Another arrangement is noted on the head No. 425. There, though not broken off, the nape of the neck is entirely missing from an oblique line through the head. The surface of this side is roughly grooved with a tool and no other piece of marble can have been fitted to this surface. Possibly the occiput and the whole back of the head was made of plaster and added to the marble face. The same technique has been observed on other heads, especially from Alexandria.

#### *Painted Sculpture.*

Probably, most or all marble statues once were painted. The colours, however, have usually disappeared, or are so faintly preserved that one can hardly get the original expression of the sculptures. Red seems to have been predominant, used both for the hair and other parts of the body. A characteristic feature of the Soli sculptures is that neither iris, nor pupil are marked in any way by sculpturing, as for instance by an incised line. Therefore, it is natural to suppose these parts of the eyes were marked by paint. The same is peculiar to all periods of Cypriote sculpture. The painted iris can be seen only on one specimen of the whole series *viz.*, No. 438. On this head the colour was so faint, that it was hardly possible to define it as anything but dark paint, possibly blue or *terra umbra*. Other parts, which were usually provided with colour are the hair. In many cases, it could be ascertained that the lips were painted red and that the colour of the hair on female heads was red. This is not in accordance with older styles of Cypriote sculpture, where the hair, as a rule, is painted black. Most likely the red-haired type has been introduced from Alexandria, where a good many of the Hellenistic female heads have the red colour preserved on the hair.

Other parts, too, of the sculptures were painted. To continue with the female, traces of red paint was noted on the genitalia of the small statuette, No. 466, when this statue was

excavated. As often, however, the colour disappeared after a short time in open air. The flames of the torch, No. 464, were painted with a bright red colour. — To sum it up can be said that paint was used on certain parts of the marble to exaggerate the effect of the sculpture.

### Alabaster.

#### *Material.*

It is impossible to state if the alabaster sculptures are made of the same, or different kind of alabaster. Possibly their state of preservation, which varies very much, is due to special circumstances in the earth. The various pieces of alabaster may also be more or less sensitive for the destructive acids in the earth. The larger sculptured statues of alabaster were so completely destroyed on the surface, that their original shape could only be conjectured, if the pieces were compared with other statues of a similar shape made of other material. Other statues, or pieces of statues, seem not to have undergone any change during the long time in the earth. The alabaster is of a white or bluish-white colour. The badly destroyed pieces entirely reduced on the surface, are covered with a thin layer of white stuff which easily comes off. This patina has destroyed the transparency of the alabaster.

#### *Technique.*

The Hellenistic sculptures of alabaster are usually made in a rather clumsy technique, and the same can be said concerning the Soli specimens as far as the material allows an estimation. The pieces of upright statuettes are all very flat. The technique in general seems not to differ from that of other alabaster sculptures to be found in the museums in Alexandria and Nicosia.

### Soft limestone.

#### *Material.*

Already in the Archaic period the very soft limestone was used for sculptures especially those of smaller size. Among the sculptures from Vouni and Mersinaki many of the best specimens are sculptured of this kind of stone, which probably was quarried at Paradisiotissa, west of Vouni. The consistence of the soft Paradisiotissa stone varies very much from time to time. When dry and fresh quarried it may be considered a fairly good stone for a sculptor. Probably it was chosen on account of its white colour. It was easily worked to sculptures with minute details, and the paint made a good contrast to the firm, smooth and white surface. It has, however, one feature, which for the excavator is very unfortunate: it is not durable. After a long time in the damp and moistened earth, the stone becomes so soft that it can be compared with very soft cheese, or even *yoghurt*. It has a very fatal tendency to scale off in many thin slices which makes it almost impossible to take up the complete statue from the earth. With great care it can be cleaned *in situ* in the earth and sometimes removed, but in bad cases, after a time in the open air, the whole piece falls into a powder in spite of everything being done to preserve it. This is especially the case when roots of plants and trees have penetrated into the statue between the slices mentioned

above. Supposing that the various pieces of a statue have been removed and thoroughly dried separately, it is often impossible to stick them together because the different pieces have subsequently lost their original shape, been deformed to such a degree that one hardly can believe that they originated in the same statue, and that the fractures once have fitted close to each other. This characteristic makes it sometimes impossible to state with certainty whether two pieces of statues, e. g., a head and a body belong to each other, or even whether the original fractures are preserved or not. Such are the characteristics of this stone, and to make sure of any results it is always advisable to make all notes, descriptions and photography before removing the sculpture from its position *in situ*.

The variety of the stone used in the Soli sculptures is white though with a slightly yellowish tint. The Cybele statue, No. 446, was so badly destroyed that, though everything was done to preserve it, it crumbled into a heap of small pieces and dust, when removed.

#### *Painting.*

In resemblance with the archaic statues of soft limestone, the Soli statues probably had painted details. In no case, however, the painting was preserved owing to the fact that the surface of the Soli sculptures of soft limestone was in all cases worn away.

#### Hard limestone.

##### *Material.*

This material was hardly ever used for sculpture in the earlier periods of Cypriote art. In both archaic and classical times, the limestone used was of a much softer kind though hardly comparable with the stone described above as soft limestone. The earliest statues of the really hard limestone, found in Mersinaki, can be dated to the era after Alexander the Great. The stone concerned is very hard. It contains great masses of small, petrified shells of various kinds and is in this respect not unlike the Nummulitic limestone used for many sculptures in Alexandria. The Soli stone, however, is usually not white but grey and the patina which time and the earth have given to the sculpture in this limestone is so faint that it sometimes can hardly be noted. Like the Nummulitic limestone, the Soli stone also contains masses of small holes and cavities which prevent the sculptor from getting the desired smoothness of surface. Sometimes, though more often in Mersinaki, than in Soli, destructive chemical processes have begun in these cavities and spoiled the surface. This extremely hard, coarse grained limestone must have been very difficult to work and perhaps the material has caused the characteristic stiffness which is peculiar to some of the sculptures, and noticeable especially in the details.

##### *Technique.*

As the hard limestone was used during several periods it is natural that various techniques of sculpture are found among the statues in this material. As regards this difference, reference will be made to the characteristics of the various styles of sculptures made of hard limestone.



*Painting.*

Only occasionally are traces of paint preserved on sculptures of hard limestone, as for instance on No. 420, where red paint was noted on the hair of Eros. Probably, however, the sculptures were usually coloured, though on account of the coarse grained stone, it has disappeared.

*Styles**Marble.**Style I A* (Nos. 425, 447, 457, 532; Pls. I, II).

As regards the marble sculptures two groups may be distinguished which show stylistic as well as technical differences. The two groups are here called Style I A and I B. Style I A is characterized by an extremely soft treatment of all the details of the face. There are no marked lines, such as accentuated ridges in the sculpturing of the eyes or the lips. All the planes are softly melted the one into the other. The eyes are deep looking but on examining how this effect was obtained, it becomes clear that the eyes are not sculptured deep. It is more or less the mere expression of them which makes the effect. It seems to be one of the most characteristic features of this style that all prominent or deep details are avoided. The mouth is indicated by a shallow, wavy line. The nostrils are marked as faint depressions. All the distinct contours are absent. Thus any kind of exaggeration was absent in the artists' minds. They wanted to obtain the expression of the sculptures by means of a very faint and delicate modelling. In comparison with other Cypriote sculpture which always shows more or less conventionalized features, this style bears strong marks of realism, which, no doubt, is due to Greek-Hellenistic influence. Technically, there are some features characteristic to the style: the drill seems to have been used only on rare occasions and, as a rule, the traces of it have been carefully removed. This is noted on details where traces of a drill could be expected, as on the hair, between the lips, etc. Sometimes the head was made separately of the body and placed into a depression on the upper part of this; but usually the figure was sculptured of a single piece of marble. On some sculptures certain less important parts were supplemented in plaster. This might be the case with No. 425 on which the back of the head is not broken off but roughly levelled by an instrument.

*Style I B* (Nos. 415, 416 + 463, 417 + 437 + 464, 438, 461, 466, 497, 511; Pls. III—VII, 1).

In many respects this style is different to the previous one though the close relationship of the two is evident. The outline of the faces are sometimes similar; the same broad base of the neck appears in both styles; the Greek-Hellenistic realism cannot be denied having given both styles their general features. But still the way of sculpturing many details separates the two clearly. While all the elements of the face in Style I A were worked with a delicate softness so that all the distinct lines are avoided, the delineating character of Style I B is

clearly expressed. Take the head No. 438 and compare it with the most typical head of Style I A, No. 425. All the contours are distinct; the eyebrows and eyelids are skillfully sculptured but the somewhat stiff and sharply marked lines impart to the head a rather dry expression which is entirely absent as to the head No. 425. All the elements of the face are distinctly kept apart. The drill has often been used in Style I B. This is noted on many parts of the sculptures. Thus the lips, the nostrils, and the ears could not have reached their present form without the drill. There is also a certain change as to the outline of the heads. Those of Style I B often seem to be more oval, fuller, which is noted especially on the lower part of the faces. For a more detailed discussion of these types of heads reference is given to a subsequent chapter dealing with the chronology of the sculptures.

*The Agrippina head No. 414. (Pls. VII,2—VIII).*

This head stands out as something quite different to all the other sculptures of this site. The place of the head in the series of other, previously known portraits of Agrippina will be discussed later.

Soft limestone. (Pl. IX).

The sculptures of soft limestone are all placed in one group as they are but few in number and display an undeniable conformity as to their style. There is however, one exception which should be kept apart, No. 336. This fragment of a male votive statuette belongs to the old Cypriote tradition of plank-shaped sculptures. It can be compared with Mersinaki sculptures of Style IV which represent the very last stage of a long development of stylistic degeneration.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the sculptures in soft limestone are more or less influenced by the new styles in marble and hard limestone (Styles V and VI in Mersinaki). It is thus interesting to find, that the soft material in Soli survived after the change of style which, as regards the Mersinaki sculptures, is marked by the change from soft to hard material, because, stylistically some of the Soli sculptures in soft limestone are closely connected with the Style VI of Mersinaki. The existence of the new aims is clearly expressed by Nos. 419 and 446. The comparatively realistic dress of those sculptures and the elegant attitude of the same place them definitely in another group than the sculptures of Style IV from Mersinaki. No. 419 represents a flattened type which is characteristic of Style VI of the same Mersinaki series. There is no reason for a suggestion that these sculptures should not be contemporary in spite of the important difference as regards the material.

The head of Isis, No. 314, is outstanding already on account of its large size. The material is not of the very soft kind which is characteristic of the other sculptures of this group, but it cannot be compared with those of hard limestone. The style of the head should be judged with regard to its large size. Otherwise many of the details will not have their right explanation in comparison with other sculptures of minor size. The sensible and carefully sculptured mouth, the dimple at the centre of the chin, and other rare features of Cypriote sculpture

<sup>1</sup> Westholm, A., *Mersinaki in Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. III, Stockholm (forthcoming).

would not be expected on minor sculptures. The type of the face and the treatment of the surface are of similar kind as regards the Style I B of the marble sculptures. The same features are characteristic of the small head, No. 443, too. Thus the groups of sculptures in soft limestone, with the exception of No. 336, find their closest parallels stylistically, in the Style I B of sculptures of marble and, which will be shown below, also of sculptures of hard limestone.

### Hard limestone.

The sculptures of hard limestone show a great variation as to their styles. Four main groups or styles are easily distinguished, the characteristic features of which will be described on the following pages. But, I think, it is possible to trace a certain development also within some of these main groups. This holds good especially as regards the first style, the nature of which is more or less naturalistic, dependent on Greek-Hellenistic sculpture styles. As comparatively few close relations to other countries are found as to the subsequent styles these are considered to be of a more local Cypriote character. The whole series, however, will be treated as being representatives at various stages of development of one and the same local sculpture tradition. The continuation of the development can also be demonstrated at least at the beginning. Below (p. 138) it will be shown how the sculptures of the various styles were found at various localities within the excavated area and how they can be connected with the different temples of the whole block of building.

*Style I A* (Nos. 413, 502, 507, 508, 518, 519, 533, 535, 536; Pls. X, XI).

This style is most closely connected with Style V of the Mersinaki sculptures. There can be little doubt that the Soli sculptures of Style I A and the Mersinaki sculptures of Style V originate in the same workshop, especially as the two places are situated within a mile's distance from each other. All the sculptures from Soli, belonging to this style, have suffered severely by corrosion, which has left only the outlines of the faces with their deeper parts. The prominent portions are, as a rule, worn off the specimens. It is possible, however, in spite of the destruction, to recognize the soft treatment of all the details of the faces. The wide, somewhat prominent base of the nose, usual on Hellenistic sculptures, is recognized here as well as on the marble sculptures of Style I A. The fragmentary bodies, Nos. 507 and 508, may be ascribed to this style. They are both characterized by a vigorous, realistic style absolutely different to the usual Cypriote stylizing tendencies. The fresh motion of No. 508 is very rare in Cypriote sculpture even from this period which evidently is very much influenced from foreign Greek schools. The body of the sphinx, No. 536, is ascribed to this group, too, on account of its fresh realism.

*Style I B* (Nos. 339, 340, 410+411, 418, 439, 499, 517, 520, 521, 522, 530, 531; Pls. XII—XIV).

As the previous style could be connected with Style V of the Mersinaki sculptures this one finds its best analogies in Style VI of the same series. Evidently, Style I B constitutes

a further development of Style I A, but the fresh realism has gone: the whole attitude of the sculptures is stiff and clumsy; their bodies are flattened from in front; their backs are flat and unsculptured. As to the heads some remarks may be made. The same distinct way of sculpturing the details are noted as has been described under Style I B of the marble sculptures. The outline is oval with full cheeks; the eyes are comparatively small and usually very distinctly worked with somewhat pointed, sharp lids. The mouth is realistically worked and the line between the lips deeply cut. No traces of a real drill can be noted, but probably this instrument was used when sculpturing the deep parts of the curls of the Alexander head, No. 520. On the female heads, the melon roll coiffure is noted on two of the heads combined with a small cap, sitting vertically on the nape of the neck, with two ribbons hanging down (Nos. 517 and 522). On No. 521 the long hair is gathered in and kept loosely by a hair-net on neck. No. 531 has the hair combed backwards.

*Style II A* (No. 328; Pl. XV,<sub>1,2</sub>).

The single representative of this style is characterized by the same features as the sculptures of Style VII of the Mersinaki series. This has been described as the exaggerated style. The coarseness of the technique has been pointed out as regards the Mersinaki sculptures. No. 328 is larger in size than those found at Mersinaki and the coarse characteristics are, therefore, still more outstanding. The nose and the chin are prominent, the eyes very deep and provided with bulging eye-balls. The vigorous outline of the face makes a queer impression at the side of the previously described sculptures. It seems, therefore, to be most natural to ascribe this head to a new, second style, the further development of which can be clearly followed in Style II B. In the same way as Style VII in Mersinaki indicates new aims and intentions of the artists in comparison with the development demonstrated by Styles V and VI, Style II A of the Soli series marks the start of a development on other lines than is expressed by Styles I A-B.

*Style II B* (Nos. 302, 317, 320, 427, 469, 534, 547; Pls. XV,<sub>3</sub>—XVII).

The vigorous and exaggerate style described above can be traced in Style II B in a very peculiar way. Though the bodies still are plastic, three-dimensional as in Style II A, the decorative details are designed on the surface of the bodies in a way which reminds one of the Cypro-Archaic styles of sculptures. At the side of the sculptures described previously, those of this style look very dry, being sculptured in a technique which is more in the nature of design. The curls of hair and beard give an impression of being made by some pointed instrument which had fluted narrow, parallel grooves. The ridges between these always have a sharp edge. The same can be said about dresses and drapery. A certain stylizing can be noted as regards the forming of hair and beard on some of the sculptures. Thus the symmetry is clearly expressed in the beard of No. 469 and the hair of No. 320. The strictly frontal attitude of the latter head reminds one of the Cypro-Archaic styles of sculpture but it is hardly typical for the other heads of the Soli series. Nor does it occur as a characteristic feature of the later styles of the Mersinaki series, which are inspired by Greek-Hellenistic



sculpture centres. The explanation of this development may be the following: the Greek-Hellenistic sculptures, indicated by Styles V—VI in Mersinaki and Styles I A—B in Soli in some way ceased, so that the artists were confined to the local, Cypriote tradition of sculpture with features which, as has been pointed out, are characteristic of Style II B as well as of earlier Cypro-Archaic styles.

*Style III* (Nos. 301, 303, 311, 312—313, 316, 318, 334, 335, 338, 407, 509; Pls. XVIII—XX).

This style marks a definite change from Style II B. Differences can be demonstrated in the way of sculpturing most of the details. Some important marks should be noted which refer to the mere technique: all over hair and beard the drill is used frequently in a peculiar way. The various curls are formed by means of a chisel but in the centre of the curls or between them are deep holes made by the drill. They are of various size and depth due to the place where they are applied. These deep holes seem to have been used as one of the chief decorative motives. Sometimes the surfaces are very rough (No. 318); but often smooth surfaces such as faces and naked skin are polished in a characteristic way which imparts a certain effect to the rough limestone. This might be intended as an imitation of marble or porphyry. Stylistically a certain clumsiness is noted. The outline of the heads are rather vague and the detailed elements of the face show, though carefully worked, many conventionalizing traits. The eyebrows are always well accentuated, the eye-balls prominently globular, and the lids pointed elliptical.

*Style IV* (Nos. 319, 329, 342, 448; Pls. XXI—XXIII).

The sculptures of this style are characterized by a very crude technique. Possibly they show a development of Style III though the most characteristic features of this style are here entirely absent. The deep borings used as a decorative element can nowhere be recognized. The fine polish of certain surfaces of Style III can admittedly be noted here, too, but not in the same way. The coarse technique of some of these sculptures is in fact remarkable while the carefully worked, female statue, No. 319, in many respects displays a certain amount of actual knowledge. The decorations of the petticoat show some traits which are interesting from technical point of view. Some of the scenes are made *en creux* like Egyptian reliefs and as the scenes iconographically, too, are of Egyptian nature it may be ascertained that this technique has been inspired from Egypt though reliefs *en creux* are rarely found also on Cypriote sculpture of earlier date.

#### Terracotta (Pl. XXIV, 6—13).

All the terracotta sculptures are made in moulds. They are of common types with the exception of No. 544+570. This is of larger size than the others. The face was made in a mould but was worked over subsequently by means of a small pin with which the curls in beard and moustaches are modelled. As regards the minor terracottas several types are distinguished. 1. (No. 495). This is a comparatively early type known from various sites in

Cyprus. The mould is certainly prior to all the other sculpture finds. This type is solid, and flat on back. 2. Another type which also originates in a period before the Cholades temples were used, is represented by the seated figurine No. 498, with pointed Ionian hair-dress. To the same type the head No. 402 might be ascribed. This type is hollow, but has rather thick walls. 3. The bulk of the terracotta statuettes, however, are of the types usually known as Tanagra-figurines. (Nos. 426, 472, and 477). They were usually broken, but evidently the pieces represent a great many varieties. Upright female figures in various attitudes are represented (No. 403) but there are specimens of a type representing the seated goddess Cybele, like No. 446. The head is crowned by a high head-dress (No. 541).

*Minor objects* (Pl. XXVII,4—7).

The minor objects are very few. Some of them have no connexion with the temples, being mere stray finds in the filling. Such are the amber head (No. 473), the finger-ring (No. 492), the arrow-head (No. 475), and the handle to a bronze vase (No. 345).

*Iron.*

The loop (No. 450) might be connected with the door of Room V and have had some purpose for closing this.

*Bronze*

No. 325 is a fragment of a bracelet of the same kind as is seen on the upper arms of No. 439. This kind of bracelet seems to belong to the cult-dress\*. Other fragments of bronze are found under Nos. 326 a—b. It cannot be determined from what object they originate. No. 344 constitutes a common type of bronze leaves.

*Lead.*

No. 471 b is a weight inside a bronze vase (No. 471 a).

*Coins* (Pl. XXVII,9—XXVIII).

The coins are equally spread over a comparatively long period, the earliest dating from the period of Ptolemy Soter; the last from the reign of Licinius, 327—333 A. D. Outside this series there are two coins of much later date, one from the reign of Valentinianus II, 383—392 A. D., and one from the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, 610—641 A. D.

The Ptolemaic coins are seven in number. No. 421 dates from the time of Ptolemy Soter and is of the same type as Svoronos, No. 277, p. 47; Pl. X, 7.<sup>1</sup> From the reign of Philadelphus

\* Cf. Strong, E., *Scultura Romana*, Florence 1923—26, Pl. XLIV.

<sup>1</sup> Svoronos, J. N., *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ χρόνου τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, Athens 1908 (Germ. transl.).

there is only one coin (No. 549). This, according to Svoronos, is ascribed to the period before the year 272 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Two other coins are dated to the third century (Nos. 487, 548). They are both of the same type and belong to the Cypriote coinage of Arsinoe III, of the years after 212 B.C.<sup>3</sup> No. 486 is also of a Cypriote coinage but dates from the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II. Such coins were struck in Cyprus in the years 144—129 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Slightly later is the coin, No. 543, from the reign of Ptolemy Soter II. Nearly all the bronze coins of this type are of Cypriote origin, and, therefore, as Svoronos has pointed out, the whole bronze coinage may be Cypriote.<sup>5</sup> The coin is similar to Svoronos Pl. LVIII, 23, and he may be right in his suggestion that the type was struck in the year 95 B.C. The latest Ptolemaic coin dates from the period of Ptolemy Auletes (No. 488): it belongs to a rather small class of coins which are probably of Cypriote origin.<sup>6</sup> They most likely belong to the daughter of Auletes and can be dated to the later part of the reign of Auletes, 55—51 B.C.

The earliest coins of the Cypro-Roman coinage are not represented among the finds. The well known types of the Cypriote coinage of Trajan are represented by three coins (Nos. 333, 442, 444). The Paphian temple is represented in a way usual on earlier coins from Augustus to Trajan.<sup>7</sup> No. 444 is illegible but may have been of the same type. From the second century there is only one other coin (No. 479), of the period of Faustina I (138—141 A. D.).<sup>8</sup>

From the time of Septimius Severus onwards, the series of Roman coins is not so fragmentary. Three specimens from the time of Severus and his family were found, and after this, the third century is represented by a series of coins up to the reign of Aurelianus. The Septimius Severus coin (No. 440) is the only silver one of the collection.<sup>9</sup> No. 456 is of Cypriote type and bears the head of Julia Domna.<sup>10</sup> It shows a very clear picture of the temple on the reverse. A similar type of temple is seen on No. 445, from the time of Caracalla.<sup>11</sup> No. 422 dates from the reign of Gordianus Pius.<sup>12</sup> No. 308 is worth notice. These coins have previously been ascribed to the Antioch mint (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, p. 205, Nos. 447—450). Dr. Clemens Bosch, however, has in a letter kindly informed me that the mint probably is Cypriote. According to Dr. Bosch, No. 308 should be ascribed to Severus Alexander. The letters *AE* on the *reverse* are abbreviations for *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας*. The coins of this type of Elagabal and Severus Alexander are difficult to distinguish from each other. The few readable letters on the *obverse* seem to confirm the attribution of the coin to Severus Alexander. No. 423 is similar

<sup>2</sup> Svoronos, No. 363, p. 57, Pl. XI, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Svoronos, No. 1159, p. 187, Pl. XXXIX, 7, cf. Regling, K., in *Zeits. f. Num.* 1905, p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Svoronos, Vol. IV, p. 314. Cf. Vol. II, No. 1636, Pl. LIV, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Svoronos, Vol. IV, p. 334.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Svoronos, No. 1842, Pl. LXI, 27—28; Vol. IV, p. 358.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hill, G. F., *Catalogue of Greek coins of Cyprus*, London 1904, p. CXXXVII; Pl. XVI, 6.

<sup>8</sup> It is like Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* III, No. 1145, p. 165.

<sup>9</sup> Cohen, H., *Description historique des monnaies* IV, Paris 1884, p. 6, No. 21.

<sup>10</sup> It is like Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 86, No. 57.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XVII, 8, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Cohen, V, p. 26, No. 44.

to Cohen, IV, p. 497. No. 78, and dates from the time of Julia Mamaea. Of a somewhat later date is coin, No. 420, of the following period, of Maximinus.<sup>13</sup> It may be assigned to the year after the end of the German war (236 A. D.). No. 490 may be compared with the Aurelianus coin of the Antioch series<sup>14</sup> though the inscription OP. BIS is known only from the Tripolis series.<sup>15</sup>

The Constantine coinage is comparatively well represented and the series is opened by No. 451, of Maximianus' time.<sup>16</sup> The Constantine coins proper are five in number. Two of them are of the Roman mint; No. 482 of the sixth series.<sup>17</sup> No. 491 of the seventh series.<sup>18</sup> No. 346 is similar, but too worn to be assigned to any of the series. No. 480 is of the Constantinople mint, third series<sup>19</sup>, and No. 454 of the Aquileian mint<sup>20</sup>; the worn state of preservation of the coin makes it impossible to state with certainty to which series it belongs.

The Licinius coins are four in number, from different mints. No. 330 belongs to the fourth series of the Aquileian mint<sup>21</sup> which is dated to 313—314 A. D. No. 424 is of the ninth series of the Antioch mint dated to 327—333 A. D.<sup>22</sup> No. 449 is of the eighth series of the Cyzicus mint and can be dated to 324—327 A. D.<sup>23</sup> while No. 484 is of Nicomedian origin, eighth series which is dated to 318—324 A. D.<sup>24</sup> Only one coin is ascribed to the coinage of Valens (No. 347). This is of the Cyzicus mint and dates from the year 314 A. D.<sup>25</sup> All these coins of the Constantine era seem to form a good dating of the end of the period during which the temple site was used. As a matter of fact only two coins of much later epochs were found (Nos. 332, 483), but they are certainly to be counted with as mere stray finds; one belongs to the period of Valentinianus II (383—392 A. D.)<sup>26</sup> and the other to Heraclius (610—641 A. D.)<sup>27</sup>

#### *Lamps* (Pls. XXV,4—XXVI).

##### *Type 1.*

(Nos. 404, 545, 546, 555, 557). Open lamps, sometimes with raised base; curved sides; rim pinched to a nozzle.

##### *Type 2.*

(No. 349). Lamp of coarse clay; nearly biconical sides; narrow, central hole with plain rim; short, conical nozzle.

<sup>13</sup> It is similar to Cohen, IV, p. 515, No. 105.

<sup>14</sup> Mattingly—Sydenham, *op. cit.* V: 1, p. 308, No. 386.

<sup>15</sup> Mattingly—Sydenham, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

<sup>16</sup> Cohen, VI, p. 523, No. 311.

<sup>17</sup> Cohen, VII, p. 289, No. 515.

<sup>18</sup> Cohen, *loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Maurice, *Numismatique Constantine* II, Paris, p. 518; Pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>20</sup> It is similar to Maurice, *op. cit.* I, Pl. XX, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Maurice, I, p. 313; Pl. XX, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice, III, p. 201.

<sup>23</sup> Maurice, III, p. 123, 142; Pl. V, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Maurice, II, p. 44; Pl. II, 12.

<sup>25</sup> Maurice, III, p. 117; Pl. V, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Goodacre, H., *The bronze coinage of the Late Roman Empire*, London 1922, p. 73.

<sup>27</sup> Wroth, W., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Imperial Byzantine Coins*, London 1908, p. 225, No. 283.



*Type 3.*

(Nos. 569, 575). Lamps on raised base-ring, biconical sides; central hole with moulded edge, thick nozzle; pierced knob on left side. (The type corresponds to Broneer's Type X,<sup>28</sup> dated to late 3rd Cent. — Beginning of 2nd Cent. B. C.)

*Type 4.*

(No. 554). Flat base; raised sides; deep, moulded discus; volutes on nozzle. (Corresponding to Broneer's Type XXII, period of Augustus continued through 1st Cent. A. D.)

*Type 5.*

(Nos. 351, 353, 357, 359, 361, 370, 371, 373, 375, 381, 387, 400, 401, 496, 516, 551). Shallow lamps with moulded discus, as a rule with representations; comparatively long nozzle with volute decoration in relief on upper side; usually no handle. (Corresponding to Broneer's Types XXI—XXIV. First half of 1st Cent. A. D.)

*Type 6.*

(Nos. 352, 354, 355, 358, 360, 363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 372, 374, 376, 378, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 392, 393, 394, 396, 398, 459, 514, 515, 552, 556, 576). Circular lamps with concave discus within a flat wide rim, often with an ovul pattern; short, triangular nozzle; with or without handle. Some of the lamps are provided with small knobs on either side of the rim (Nos. 365, 383, 386, 390. This type corresponds to Broneer's Types XXIV—XXV and to Loeschke's<sup>29</sup> Type VIII. They are dated to the middle of the 1st Cent. A. D. and the type continued to the end of the century).

*Type 7.*

(Nos. 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 529 a). Moulded lamps of somewhat larger size, circular in shape; very thin walls; wide, somewhat sloping rim; concave discus with impressed designs; the nozzle is partly placed on the rim; triangular in shape; moulded handle with incised lines. The type corresponds closely to Broneer's Type XXVII dated by him to the 2nd Cent. A. D.

*Type 8.*

(Nos. 327, 356, 362, 366, 377, 379, 391, 395, 399, 467, 577). These lamps are ascribed to one type in accordance with Broneer's Type XXVIII, though certain variations within the type are recognizable. As a rule the lamps are more or less oval in shape. Nos. 327, 467, 577 have a very short nozzle placed partly on the rim; the rest have prolonged nozzles with volute decoration in relief. The discus is usually small especially on No. 379 where all the decoration is concentrated to the bulging rim.

<sup>28</sup> Broneer, O., *Excavations at Corinth IV, Terracotta lamps*, Cambr. Mass. 1930.

<sup>29</sup> Loeschke, S., *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, Zurich 1910.

*Type 9.*

This type is represented by the large lamp No. 494 with the deep relief decoration on the discus. Chronologically the type may be placed after the preceding types.

*Loom-weights* (Pl. XXVII,1—3).

The loom-weights are of mainly two types: 1. Circular, disc-shaped; pierced either at centre (Nos. 559, 560, 566, 567, 568, 571, 573, 581, 585), or near the centre (Nos. 558, 561, 562, 580, 582). Sometimes the shape is somewhat rhomboid (Nos. 550, 572, 579, 583, 584). 2. The second type of loom-weights are truncated pyramids, pierced at the upper end (Nos. 563, 564, 565).

*Glass* (Pl. XXVII,8).

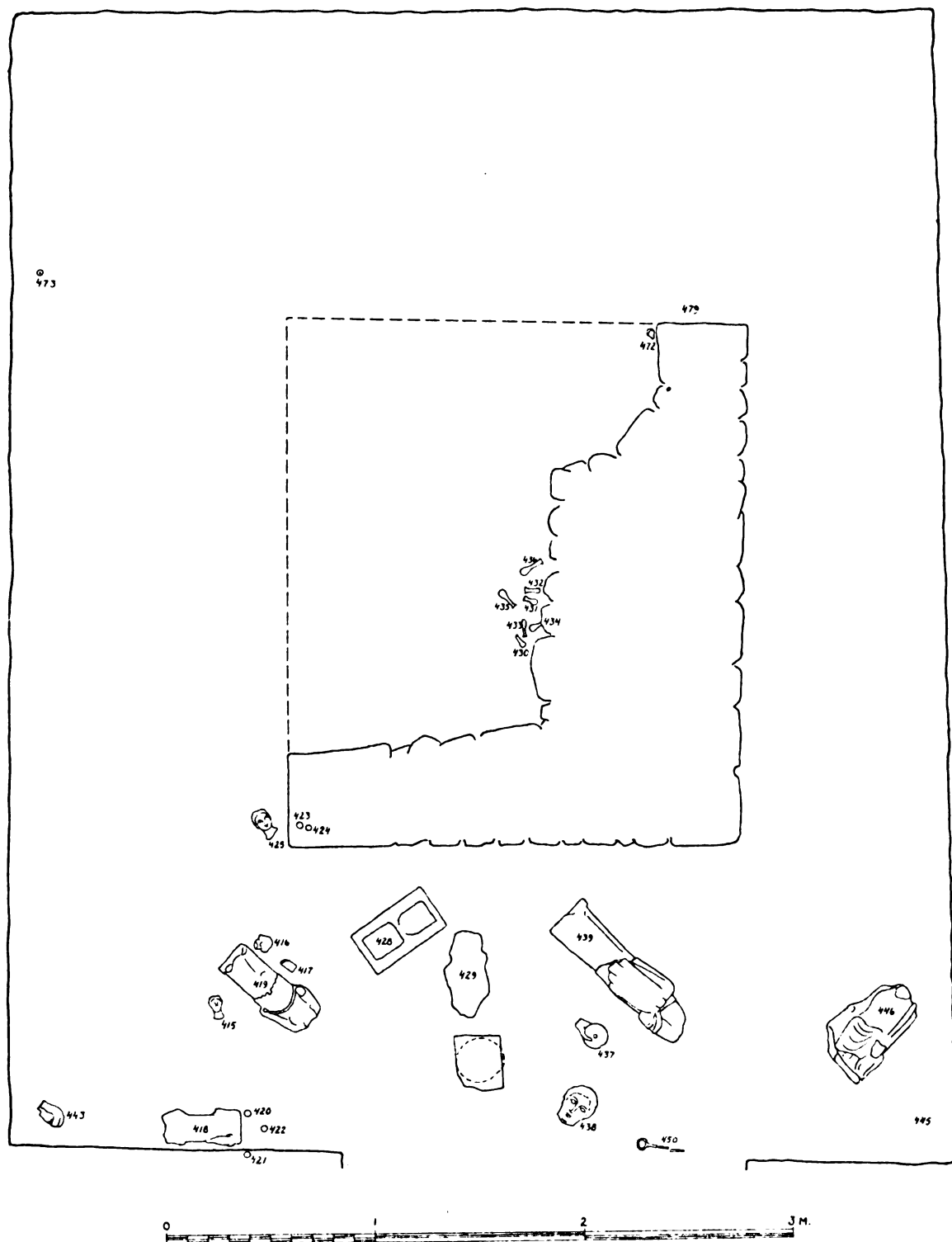
The glass bottles (Nos. 397, 430—436) are all of a similar type with long tubular neck.

*Inscriptions* (Pls. XXIV,15,16—XXV,1—3)

For the inscriptions reference is given to Vol. III of *The Swed. Cyp. Exp.*

## CONDITIONS OF FINDS

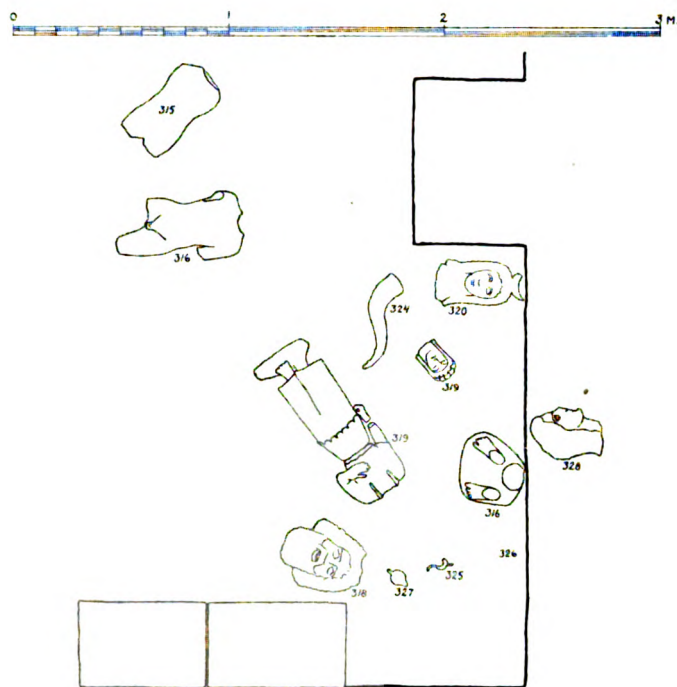
Apart from the pottery fragments, which are more or less significant for practically every ancient site and which here will be used as dating material in the ordinary way, the finds were made under very differing conditions. In many cases, these conditions must be taken into consideration separately if a proper understanding is to be obtained of the date of the objects and of the way they may be used for the dating of the monuments. In general, the objects and the sculptures were found roughly in three ways: 1. Mere stray finds lying accidentally in the various strata without definite connexion with these, or with the architectural monuments. These finds can only be used like the pottery fragments, in the question of the chronology. Besides the pottery, the coins and other small objects should be, as a rule, referred to this group. The coins in reality constitute the most valuable objects for the absolute dating of the monuments. 2. Objects, especially sculpture, which evidently were re-used for a secondary purpose. The cases of such conditions were numerous and proved to be most valuable for dating. It is but natural, of course, that a fragment of a statue found as a building-stone in a wall (Fig. 70) must belong to a sculpture which was made considerably earlier than the wall was built, as it must be supposed at least in most cases that the sculpture was taken from some other temple which for some reason had ceased to be used, or from which the old sculptures were removed. This seems frequently to have happened in ancient temple sites. 3. The third group of finds consists of those which were discovered more or less *in situ*. Only occasionally their exact, original position could be ascertained,



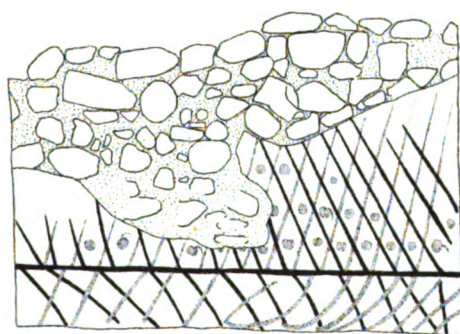
**Finds in Room V**





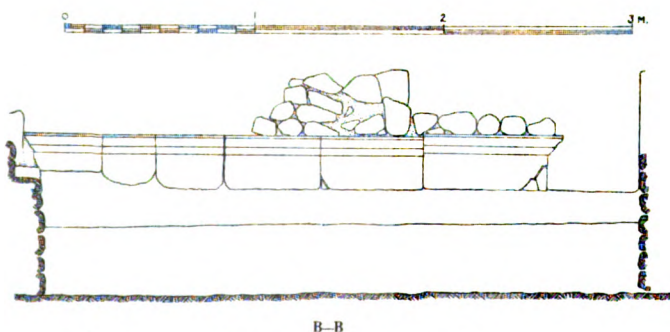


1 Finds in Room XXXIV



Black. Red.  
A-A

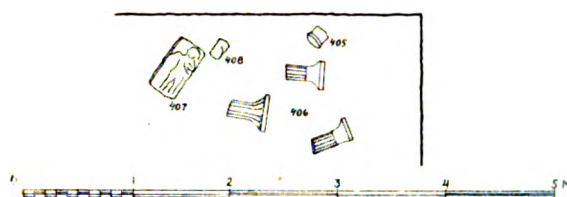
5 Mural painting on Wall 23



6 Façade of Altar 155



Finds below Room LIV  
2

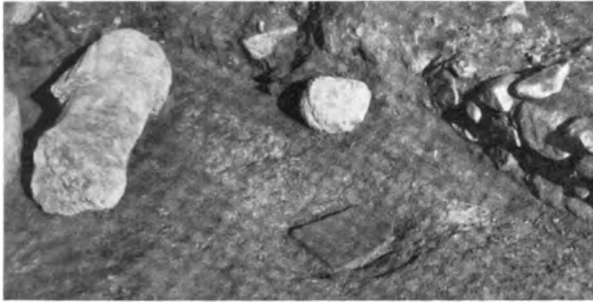


Finds on Altar 156  
3



Deposit of lamps in Room XXV  
4



Fig. 64. Soli. Room V, finds *in situ*.Fig. 65. Soli. Room V, finds *in situ*.

but careful examination of the stratification usually gave evidence enough for a reasonable suggestion as to their origin. The sculptures, found more or less *in situ* were always located to the temple *cellae* or their close vicinity, or the layer in which they were discovered, could in some way be connected with a *cella*. It may be put forward here that the sculptures probably were placed on the altars in the *cellae*. The altars, therefore, must have been in the nature of an *ikonostasis*, or a stand for the various sculptures. This explains their great size. This suggestion holds good only as to the altars *in the cellae*. In no case was a similar arrangement observed as regards the altars out-of-doors, in the courtyards. Here, no sculptures were found under conditions indicating that they were originally placed on such altars.

In the *cella*, Room V, some sculpture fragments were found in a layer on the floor. There is no reason for not ascribing these sculptures to the same *cella*. As all of them were found east of the altar, just in front of the entrance (Figs. 64 and 65; Plan VI), it is natural that they could have been placed on the altar which, when it was destroyed, fell in this direction (cf. Section II). The layer which contained the sculptures extended outside the *cella* part, as far as to Stair 159. To judge from these conditions it may be right to ascribe all the sculptures of this layer to the same *cella*, Room V, though the possibility must be noted that those found below Stair 159 (Fig. 66) can have come from Altar 146. Are the finds of Room V to be ascribed to Temple B or is it possible that some of them have remained from the first temple, A? This question is extremely difficult to settle definitely. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no signs of a destruction of the *cella*. The altar 147 must for constructional reasons be ascribed to the temple B but there may have been another altar at the rear of the *cella* in the first period. The floor is here slightly raised. On the other hand most of the marble sculptures had been already broken and mended in ancient times. Whether this happened in the factory as a consequence of the artist's bad technique or small acquaintance with marble as material, remains uncertain. It may, however, also be explained so that the sculptures, broken during the first period (Temple A) were mended for the second period (Temple B). In any case the great number of cases in which the marble sculptures have been mended, indicate that this material was considered so unusual and so valuable that they had to be preserved from one generation to another, even if they were broken in many pieces.



Fig. 66. Soli. Stair 159 with finds *in situ*.

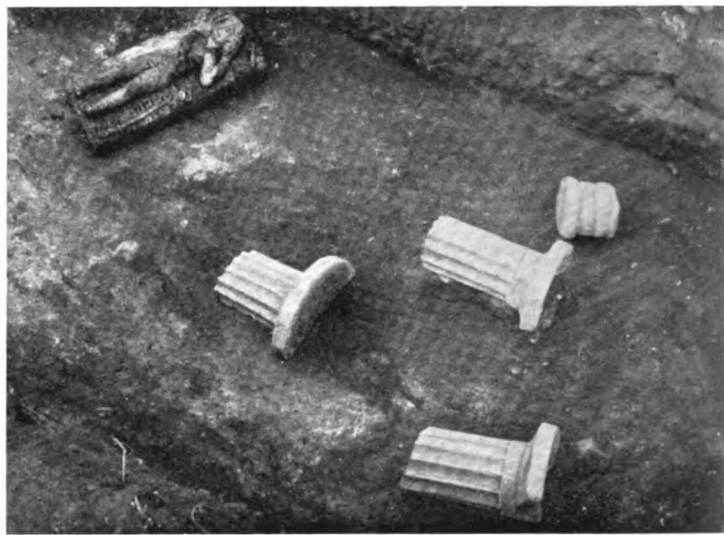


Fig. 67. Soli. Altar 156 with finds *in situ*.

In Temple C, only a few sculptures were found in close connexion with the *cella*. In the *cella* proper, a coin (No. 480) only, of the Constantine period was found, but in the portico, Room XVII, some sculpture fragments were noted, which may have originated in the *cella*. The large Agrippina head was found just outside the entrance of the *cella*, and further to the south, the satyr head (No. 469) and the small mourning Isis (No. 427).

All the three *cellae* of Temple E contained sculptures which were more or less *in situ*. As three separate styles were distinguished among these sculptures, it may be asked what relation the sculptures have to the buildings on this locality. Two of the styles may be combined with the two building periods of Temple E, but there remains quite a large group of sculptures, which were found in Room XXXIV and are of the same style as those from Temple C. This latter must have been erected considerably earlier than the Temple E which makes the conditions rather complicated. In the *cella*, Room XLV, things seem to be easy to explain. Here all the finds of sculptures were lying on the altar, evidently not very much disturbed (Fig. 67; Plan VII, 3). No doubt these originally were placed on the altar. The same is the case in Room XXXV where the Canopus sculpture (No. 329) was found practically *in situ* still upright on the altar. With the exception of some minor fragments and the head, No. 448, no other sculptures were found here. In the central *cella*, however, the sculptures were found lying without any order. One group was situated on the floor in the eastern corner of the room (Plan VII, 1). Other sculptures were found among the fallen stones from the walls. On making an investigation of this matter, it became clear that all the sculptures of this room attributed to Style II were among the fallen stones and the sculptures of Styles III and IV were in all cases located on the floor. As many of the sculptures of Style II had mortar adhering to them it is evident, that they had not belonged to the Temple E, other than as building-stones taken from elsewhere. This was confirmed by the finding of one head (No. 328) of Style II A, still *in situ* in the wall.



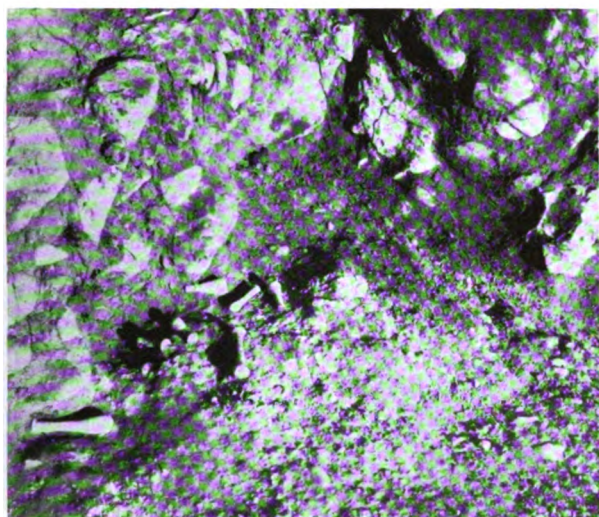


Fig. 68. Soli. Glass bottles (Nos. 430—436) *in situ*, below Altar 197.



Fig. 69. Soli. Lamps *in situ* in Room XXV.

Now the question arises: from which temple were these sculptures taken in order to be re-used as building-stones for the new construction of the *cella*? As sculptures of Style II B were found in the Temple C the possibility must be taken into account that the sculptures were placed originally in this temple, especially as most of the fragments can be certified as belonging to statues representing the goddess Isis. A small Isis statue was found in the portico outside the *cella* of Temple C. Besides, there are reasons to believe that the Agrippina-head was represented as the goddess mentioned. On the other hand it must be noted that the fragments re-used as building-stones were concentrated chiefly at two points: the walls of the central *cella* and the walls around the entrance into the courtyard. If the pieces were brought from Temple C only, one should expect to find them spread out in some more of the new walls of Temple E. But this is not the case, and, besides, there are no signs that Temple C was destroyed and deprived of its sculptures. Is there some other temple then which might have supplied the new construction with this sculptural building-material? Temple D was situated just below Temple E, and if the conditions were similar here to what we know from the other temples the sculptures should have been placed in the two *cellae* of that temple. If the final destruction of this was caused by an earthquake or some other violent event, it is natural to suppose that the sculptures were buried under the debris of the walls. Certainly the same fallen stones on the place were used when the new Temple E was constructed partly on the old foundations, and among them the fragments of the sculptures may have come into the walls. The sculptures found in the walls around the entrance, Stair 165, may be explained in the same way. Among them is the sphinx, No. 302, which was discovered by the landowner before the work started. That sculptures really were once placed in connexion with the Stair 163 was confirmed by finding some fragments in the filling just below Wall 79. Apart from head No. 547, the lower part of a terracotta statuette was discovered, possibly standing *in situ* (Fig. 23).



Fig. 70. Soli. Statuette (No. 339) re-used as a building-stone in Wall 99.



Fig. 71. Soli. Sculptures (Nos. 533—536) in the earth-filling below the floor of Room LIV.

No sculptures could be connected directly with Temple F. The small deposit found below the floor of Room LIV should certainly be considered as mere filling (Fig. 71; Plan VII, 2).

Other accidental finds of sculptures were made in the portico along Wall 20, but these were used as building-stones in it and were lying in this wall or among the fallen stones, sometimes with mortar adhering to them.

A sealed deposit of terracotta figurines, however, was discovered in the offering pit which is supposed to have been connected with an altar on the courtyard, Room II. If this presumption is right they must be ascribed to the first temple, A.

Two sealed deposits of lamps were found, one in Room XXV which seemed to have come with rain-water in the passage between the chapel, Room XXIII, and Temple E. Evidently these lamps had been gathered against a piece of wall in Period 4. To the same period another deposit of lamps must be referred, found in Room XXVIII.

Something must be said as to the inscriptions, Nos. 322 and 323, found in Room XXXIV; they should probably be connected with Temple E. No. 409 was found among fallen stones in Room XXVII and may have been re-used as a building-stone in Temple F or have been fixed on Wall 22. If the temple of Priapus, mentioned on the inscription, refers to any of the temples or minor chapels excavated remains uncertain. Nos. 428, 453, 456 were all found under conditions which make it certain that they should be connected with the temple *cella*, Room V. Possibly the pieces, No. 493, unfortunately scattered all over the courtyard, Room III, and the gate, Room VII, originated in the *cella*. As to No. 512 it may be pointed out that it had been evidently re-used in some way, probably as a base for a column. It was found among the fallen stones outside the *cella*, Room V.



The pottery was collected in accordance with the stratification described above. Usually it was possible to determine to which temple, or to which architectural period the pottery of the various strata should be attributed.

### RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

As regards the architecture, the relative chronology and the chronological sequence of the various constructions has been established above. Temple A must be the first building followed by Temples B, C and D after an intermediate period of which we have but scanty architectural remains. Whether Temples B and C were constructed contemporarily with Temple D, or if the latter was built somewhat earlier or later, remains uncertain. They are, however, all assigned to the same main Period 2. After the destruction of Temple D, follows the second intermediate period which makes the supposition necessary of a comparatively long time between the beginning of Period 2 and the beginning of Period 3. The latter is marked by the construction of Temple E which was altered and provided with some additions in a following Period 4. This sequence of constructions cannot be disputed on account of the evidence given above, and we will now proceed to the various finds and see in what way their classification corresponds to the periods.

As regards the sculptures, the various styles can be attributed to certain temples and certain periods. In a few cases it proved to be impossible to do so, but in such cases it could sometimes be ascertained that the sculptures in question could not be later than a certain building. In other cases, sculptures could be ascribed to certain temples with more or less certainty on grounds, other than their position in the earth.

Among the sculptures of marble two styles are recognized, and, apart from them, the portrait of Agrippina (No. 314). Though most of these sculptures were found in Temple B there is reason to believe that they should be ascribed to Temple A or, in any case to a period prior to the construction of Temple B. Many of the marble sculptures were broken and mended in ancient times. This indicates that the rare material was considered too valuable to be thrown away even if the sculptures broke. But the main argument for the attribution of the marble sculpture to the period of Temple A is a stylistic one. Even if the dating of the marble sculpture is based entirely upon the Soli material, and all comparisons with foreign Hellenistic sculpture are disregarded, they must be ascribed to a period prior to Temple B, because Styles I A and B of the marbles must for stylistical reasons be contemporary with the corresponding styles of the sculpture in hard limestone. As it can be proved that several of the latter had been re-used as building-stone in walls which actually belonged to Temple B, it follows, that the styles mentioned cannot be connected with the sculptures placed in that temple. Sculptures belonging to Styles I A and B must be of earlier date than the construction of Temple B. For similar reasons the same holds good of the sculpture in soft limestone.

The sculptures which originally were made for Temples B—C—D were those of Style II A and B. It may be mere chance that none of them were found in Temple B and only

a few of them in Temple C. This might be due to the fact that these temples were used during a very long period, a fact demonstrated by the series of coins from the floors. The architectural analysis, however, has shown that the temples in question must have been built almost contemporarily, and there can be no doubt as to which style should be connected with that building period. Not a single piece of Style III can be connected with these early temples. Chronologically, Style III falls after the second intermediate period and is significant for Temple E. They were all found more or less *in situ* in the *cellae* of that temple and should, certainly, therefore correspond to the architectural period of Temple E. The sculptures of Style IV were found mixed with those of Style III and can be distinguished only on stylistic grounds. For stylistic reasons Style IV constitutes the last sculptures of the whole series. This indicates that Style IV should be connected with the building-period 4 characterized by the alterations in Temples B and E, and the construction of Temple F.

The way in which the sculpture styles were connected with the various temples and periods is demonstrated in the following diagram:

	Temple A	Temples B	C	D	Temple E	Temple F	Periods beginning about (cf. below):
Period 1	■						250 B. C.
1st Intermediate Period							End of 2nd Cent. B. C.
Period 2		■					After 50 B. C.
2nd Intermediate Period							End of 1st Cent. A. D.
Period 3					■		Middle of 3rd Cent. A. D.
Period 4					■	? ■ ?	Beginning of 4th Cent. A. D.
	Styles I A—B	Styles II A—B		Style III	Style IV		

We proceed to the lamps and find that a similar distribution of the various types between the temples can be noted. Types 1—4 are almost equally distributed between Temples A—B, while these types are represented in Temple D by one specimen (No. 349 of Type 2). The deposit of lamps in Room XXV did not contain specimens of Types 1—4. The bulk of the deposit consists of Type 6, though, Types 5, and 8 are frequent, too. Type 7 is represented by another deposit which must belong to the Period 4, as it was situated just outside the wall of Temple F.

The numbered, complete vases can in no way be significant for the distribution of the pottery found at the site.



The pottery sherds were collected exclusively with the consideration to the layer in which they were found, and each layer or locality was strictly separated. In the following diagram the plain and coarse wares are omitted as they were represented in all layers, and, as a rule, constituted at least 80 % of the whole quantity. The diagram is arranged in accordance with the following principles: the localities are placed in the chronological order which is given by the analysis of the architecture described above. Within each period the various temples are separated. Furthermore, for every unit of collection, reference is given to a section written in Roman figures, and the layer on this section, written in Arabic figures. In cases when the localities not can be referred to any section, the room in which the sherds were found is indicated.

Period	1	1st int.	2										2nd interm.			3		4				
Temple	A		B			C		D									E	F	F			
Room or Section	Sect. III,7 Sect. III,19 Room XIII Sect. III,12 Sect. III,18 Sect. III,16 Room XIII Room XI Room II Sect. III,6 Sect. III,4 Sect. III,5 Room XLII Room XLI Room XXX Sect. XVI,7 Sect. XII,5 Sect. VI,5 Room XXXVI Sect. V,5 Sect. VIII,6 Sect. X,4 Sect. X,5 Sect. XIV,7 Room XXIX Room XLVI Sect. X,7 Wall 106 Sect. V,4 Sect. XVI,8 Sect. XVII,11 Sect. XVI,6-7 Sect. XVII,4 Sect. XVI,4 Sect. XVII,9 Sect. XVI,5-7																					
Bl. L. I .....	4		1			5	2	2	1	2	3	1		1	1		2					
Bl. L. II .....	8	2	11		5	38	8	2	2	5	7	23	12	6	7	3	8	3	1	2		
M. Bl. ....		2	8	1	4	4	23	62	28		1	5	3	5	2	10	3	7	5	2	1	4
R. L. I .....		8	2	16		2	2	2	6	4	2	5	6	3	7	1	1	6		4		
R. L. II .....				6	3	13	2	46	25	6	8	3	22	32	10	13	8	8	5	5	9	2
M. R. ....				12	8	35	20	1	50	1		4	2	7		5	5	3	3	10	2	
Bl. Pol. I .....									1	2					1							
Bl. Pol. II .....										1												
Mon. Red. ....																		15		2	4	
Grooved W. ....																		13	7	12	7	
Wh. Sl. Gr. ....																		5		2	1	

This diagram shows that there is hardly possible to make any distinctions as to the quantity of the Black Lustrous I—II and the Red Lustrous I—II Wares during Period 2. These wares are represented in this period and it is clearly noted that the Black Lustrous II and Red Lustrous II are predominant in comparison with the Black Lustrous I and Red Lustrous I Wares. In the 1st period no Red Lustrous sherds were found, whereas these begin in the 1st intermediate period, represented by Red Lustrous I Ware. The mat wares, black or red, are not found in the 1st period. In the 1st intermediate period only Mat Black Ware is represented while the Mat Red Ware appears in Period 2. From this period onwards the mat wares dominate, and, evidently they do not terminate contemporarily with the Black- and Red Lustrous Wares but occur also frequently in Periods 3 and 4. Characteristic of these periods are also the Monochrome Red, the Grooved,

and the White Slip Grooved Wares, which are not met with prior to Period 3. The Black Polished Wares are represented in Period 2 and the 2nd intermediate period. As far as the stratification shows, there can thus be distinguished two epochs of interruption, 1. between Period 1 and the 1st intermediate period; 2. between the 2nd intermediate period, and Period 3, a result which on the following pages will be confirmed by the evidence given by the coins.

### ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

For the absolute chronology the coins constitute the fixed points. It is necessary, however, to be chary in using the coins as dating objects. For every coin which is used, one should know the condition under which it was found, and every case must be judged by itself. When a coin is found on a floor it usually indicates that this floor was used contemporarily with the coin, but nothing is therefore ascertained concerning the time when the floor was laid out. If we find a long series of coins, dating from various periods, lying on one and the same floor, this might indicate, as a rule, that the floor was used during a corresponding period. It is but natural that the later part of such a period is better represented by coins than the first part. Coins, lying in the filling below a floor must always constitute a *terminus post quem* for the floor, and the same is the case when a coin is found below a wall. Coins found in the upper filling have usually no significance for the dating of the architecture.

In order to facilitate making a survey of the coins and their attribution to the various temples, they are arranged in the following list. Here only such coins are considered which can be used as chronological evidence. Indecipherable coins are omitted, as are those found in layers or localities without any architectural significance. When it is stated below that a coin was found in a temple it means that it was found on the floor of any of the rooms of this temple. Below a temple means, on the other hand, that it was found below any of the floors of this temple. Here follows the list mentioned:

312—284 B. C. Ptolemy Soter	No. 421 Below Temple A.
284—272 B. C. Ptolemy Philadelphus	No. 549 Below Temple D.
212—204 B. C. Arsinoe III	No. 548 Below Temple D.
212—204 B. C. Arsinoe III	No. 487 Below Temple B.
144—129 B. C. Ptolemy Euergetes II	No. 486 Below Temple B.
103— 76 B. C. Alexander Jannaeus	No. 307 Below Temple C.
— 95 B. C. Ptolemy Soter II	No. 543 In wall of 1st interm. period
55— 51 B. C. Ptolemy Auletes	No. 488 Constr. of Temple B.
112—117 A. D. Trajan	No. 333 In Temple B.
Trajan	No. 442 In Temple B.
138—141 A. D. Faustina I	No. 479 In Temple B.
193—211 A. D. Septimius Severus	No. 440 In Temple B.

—217 A. D. Julia Domna	No. 456 In Temple B.
211—217 A. D. Caracalla	No. 445 In Temple B.
222—234 A. D. Severus Alexander	No. 308 Below Temple E.
222—235 A. D. Julia Mamaea	No. 423 In Temple B.
236—238 A. D. Maximinus	No. 420 In Temple B.
238—243 A. D. Gordianus Pius	No. 422 In Temple B.
313—317 A. D. Constantine	No. 482 In Temple B.
317—320 A. D. Constantine	No. 491 In Temple B.
Constantine	No. 346 In Temple E.
330—333 A. D. Constantine	No. 480 In Temple C.
330—333 A. D. Constantine	No. 489 In Temple B.
313—314 A. D. Licinius	No. 330 In Temple B.
318—324 A. D. Licinius	No. 484 In Temple B.
327—333 A. D. Licinius	No. 424 In Temple B.
324—327 A. D. Licinius	No. 449 In Temple E.
314 A. D. Valens	No. 347 In Temple E.
383—392 A. D. Valentinianus II	No. 483 In Temple B, upper layers.
610—641 A. D. Heraclius	No. 332 Surface find

The list shows that some of the coins constitute a *terminus post quem* for some of the temples while the bulk of the material indicates the period during which the various temples were used. The coin, No. 421, dating from the reign of Ptolemy Soter I (312—284 B. C.) was found below Wall 7 and thus antedates the construction of the *cella*, Room V of Temple A. The second building period is also determined by means of a *terminus post quem*: Nos. 487 dating from the time of Arsinoe III (212—204 B. C.) and 486 from the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II (144—129 B. C.) were found in layers outside Wall 20 into which the wall mentioned was sunk down. The layer must be of earlier date than the temple wall. On the other hand, the coin No. 488, dating from the time of Ptolemy Auletes (55—51 B. C.) was found on a floor layer just on top of the previous layer mentioned. This floor, or mere level, constituted the surface of the ground at the time when Temple B was constructed and the coin mentioned may thus give the approximate date of the construction of Temple B. We may place this event shortly after the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C. This was confirmed by the finding of another coin (No. 307) in the filling below the courtyard, Room XVI, belonging to Temple C which, as has been demonstrated previously, was constructed contemporarily with Temple B. This coin, dating from the reign of the Maccabean king Alexander Jannaeus (103—76 B. C.), was found on the floor-level (118.5) on which Wall 52 was founded. It therefore antedates the construction of Temple C. The dating of this important building epoch thus is well ascertained as the evidence from two different localities give about the same result. The construction of Temples B and C is, therefore, according to the coin evidence, dated to the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C. or shortly later.

It has been pointed out previously that the construction of Temple D for architectural

reasons should be ascribed to about the same epoch. This is confirmed by the coins. There are two coins, which both antedate the 2nd intermediate period and, as far as could be seen Temple D, too. The coins were found below the filling of the floor in Room XXXVIII, which belongs to the 2nd intermediate period. No. 549 dates from the first part of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284—272 B. C.) and No. 548 from the time of Arsinoe III (212—204 B. C.). The temple might, of course, have been constructed much later than this latter date indicates, but the absence of dateable evidence does not allow a closer determination. The 1st intermediate period seems also to be determined by means of the coin No. 543, dating from the time of Ptolemy Soter II (95 B. C.). This coin was found in Wall 60 which may belong to the building system of the 1st intermediate period.

The coin No. 308, dating from Severus Alexander, constitutes a good *terminus post quem* for Temple E. It was found below the floor of Room XXXIV and therefore must belong to a period prior to the construction of the temple.

The absence of earlier coins in Temple E is striking. As a matter of fact there is none before the Constantine epoch but from this, three coins are preserved. Though one ought to be chary in using a negative evidence like this, it may be taken as a proof that Temple E was constructed not long before the Constantine era, which, however, as far as the coins show, constitutes the termination of the era during which the whole block of temples were used. As two periods are recognized as regards Temple E, one might suppose that this temple was constructed in the middle of the 3rd Cent. A. D.

The contrast between the series of coins in Temple E and Temple B is evident. While in the former only Constantine coins are represented, the series of coins from Temple B is spread out over a very long period, from the time of Trajan to the end of the Constantine period. With exception of the later part of the 3rd Cent., almost the whole period is represented by coins, most of which were found on the floor in the *cella*, Room V. These conditions show clearly that offerings were brought to this temple during the whole of this long period. The beginning of the period might fall earlier than this series shows, probably, as has been suggested above, as early as in the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C.

Curiously enough only one coin was found in Temple C, a Constantine coin, dating from 330—333 A. D. This shows that the temple, which for architectural reasons must have been constructed contemporarily with Temple B, was used as late as in the Constantine period.

In summing up the results of this investigation, we find that Temple A was probably constructed during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus or slightly later. The courtyard of this temple was destroyed, and altered later than in 95 B. C., or shortly after the reign of Ptolemy Auletes in the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C., i. e. the Roman occupation of the island. On this occasion, Temples B and C were constructed. Possibly on the same occasion, too, Temple D was built, as it must be of later date than the year 95 B. C. and, on the other hand, the Water-conduit 167, constructed for Temple B, was laid out with consideration to the already existing or, at any rate, planned Temple D. The final destruction of this temple is unfortunately impossible to fix chronologically. The end of the 1st Cent. A. D. may be suggested as a probable date. The second intermediate period follows, the



date of which is not determined; and, finally Temple E is constructed most probably in the middle of the 3rd Century at any rate not earlier than the period of Severus Alexander, and subsequently altered in the Constantine period when also Temples B and C were used, and partly altered. The date when the whole of this sacred site was abandoned is clearly fixed by the coins at the end of the Constantine era. The coin No. 483 from the time of Valentinianus II shows that the site was partly covered with debris at the end of the 4th Cent.

## IDENTIFICATION OF THE TEMPLES

The determination of the nature of the temples can be ascertained by means of inscriptions and sculptures found in the temples, or in such connexion that they can be ascribed to any of them. For all the questions connected with the history of religion of the place, the reader is referred to the following volume of this work where a thorough study of that chapter will be made. Here, only a very brief summary is given of the reasons for attributing the temples to certain gods.

As to the nature of Temple A, there is nothing which indicates with certainty to whom this temple was dedicated. If the suggestion is correct, that the marble sculptures of Styles I A and B belonged to that temple, it should be considered as a temple of Aphrodite. Because most of the sculptures are fragments of statues representing that goddess. As belonging to Aphrodites, Nos. 447, 438, 416+463, and 466 can be determined while Nos. 417, 437, and 464 evidently constitute pieces of the same statue of a winged, mourning Eros, holding his torch turned down. He might well have been placed in a temple of Aphrodite. Apart from the marble sculptures there are two representations of Cybele (No. 446 in soft limestone, and No. 418 in hard limestone of Style I B). In reality everything indicates that the same goddess was worshipped in both Temples A and B, and, as has been suggested above, her statues even preserved from the one temple to the other in spite of the long time which has elapsed between the two. The real nature of this goddess is expressed by her name on the inscription No. 465 on which she is called Ἀφροδείτη Ὀρεῖα. Evidently this is a fusion between the Anatolian goddess Cybele who usually was called Μητὴρ Ὀρεῖα. In Soli she was identified with Aphrodite by the Cypriotes, who called her Ἀφροδείτη Ὀρεῖα. This is the first time we meet with this name, though Cybele is often identified with Aphrodite. The characters of the inscription mentioned indicate a comparatively late period. The inscription thus must be ascribed to Temple B.

Temple C can also fairly well be determined. Here, however, no inscription has been found which could settle the question definitely. We have to rely upon the sculptures entirely. It has previously been pointed out that the head of Agrippina (No. 414) which was found in immediate connexion with the *cella* of that temple had a fracture on the crown, indicating that some head-dress must have been broken off. It seems natural to suppose that this has been of the kind, characteristic of the Isis heads. Fortunately, however, we are not entirely dependent on this rather vague argument for identifying the temple. The

statuette of Isis (No. 427) kneeling on the drum of a column was found just outside the *cella* of Temple C and this find can hardly be explained otherwise than that the temple in which the statuette was placed was sacred to Isis. Besides most of the sculptures of Style II to which No. 427 is ascribed proved to be fragments of statues of Isis. Though it cannot be ascertained definitely whether these fragments, most of which were found among the fallen stones from the walls of the central *cella* of Temple E, have been taken from Temple C or Temple D, it may be sufficient to state that at least one of them was sacred to the goddess Isis. As the sculptures of Style I can be connected with Aphrodite, those of Style II are connected with Isis. Possibly Isis was worshipped in both Temples C and D.

On account of the fairly good state of preservation of Temple E, matters are easier there. Evidently the syncretism is very much pronounced during this period. In the middle *cella* only, we meet with a great many deities. Though not wearing the usual typical *kalathos*, the large bearded head with the mourning expression (No. 318) is easily recognized as Serapis. The *kalathos* of another large head was found in one of the lateral *cellae* (No. 405). But we continue the investigation in the middle *cella*. Nos. 334, 316, and 338 are most likely parts of a group which can be determined as representing the Dioscuroi. The *πίλος* of No. 334 makes this identification safe. Certainly the group was placed in the *cella*, possibly on the altar near the rear wall. The Dioscuroi may be connected with the dogs, the heads of which were found among the fragments of the floor (Nos. 312, 313). But it is perhaps more likely that the larger one of these heads should be interpreted as a wolf's head and that both of them constitute parts of a Cerberus especially in consideration of the fact, described above, that the heads were more carefully sculptured on one side than on the other. This allows the conclusion that the heads were placed on either side of some object or close together. If Cerberus is reconstructed with a head, like No. 509, the larger (wolf's) head must be placed to the right of the central lion's head and the smaller one to the left. If this is correct, we meet with a type of Cerberus which is characteristic of Alexandria. This type of Cerberus was represented in the Serapeum of Alexandria and coupled to Bryaxis famous statue of Serapis. According to Macrobius<sup>1</sup> this Cerberus had in the middle a lion's head with a wolf's head on the right and a dog's head on the left. The monster was encircled by a serpent. Wilcken found a Cerberus of this type in the entrance to the Serapeum at Memphis.<sup>2</sup> Other specimens of the same type are found in British Museum,<sup>3</sup> the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek,<sup>4</sup> Turin Museum,<sup>5</sup> and finally in the Alexandria Museum.<sup>6</sup> The Serapis head (No. 318) and the pieces of a Cerberus, as they all have been found in the same room, may be the only preserved fragments of the same group, *viz.* Serapis with Cerberus as it was represented by Bryaxis in the Alexandrian Serapeum. The serpent (No. 335) might for iconographic reasons very well be connected with Serapis, the ruler of

<sup>1</sup> *Saturn.* I, 20, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Wilcken, U., *Die griechischen Denkmäler am Dromos des Serapeums von Memphis*, in *Jahrbuch*, 32 (1917), p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.* VI, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, V., *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Den Aeg. Saml.*, Copenh. 1908, p. 494, No. E. 542.

<sup>5</sup> Schreiber, Th., *Alexandrinische Toreutik*, in *Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1894, Pl. I b.

<sup>6</sup> Breccia, E., *Rapport sur la marche de service du musée, Alexandria 1921—1923*, p. 24, Pls. XIX—XX; *Alexandria* Fig. 355, p. 359; *Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* II, Bergamo 1930, Tav. XL, 9—11.

the shades and his monstrous guardians. For a further discussion of this, reference is given in the next volume of this work.

While the large, central *cella* of Temple E thus was sacred to Serapis, it is not surprising to find that in the northern lateral *cella* of the same temple another Chthonic deity was worshipped, i. e. Canopus. The cult-statue of Canopus (No. 329) was found but slightly removed from its original position on the altar of that *cella*<sup>7</sup>. It may be sufficient in this connexion to state that the northern *cella* was reserved for Canopus, and we proceed with our investigation to the south lateral *cella* of the same temple. Here the relief, No. 407, representing the mourning Eros, was found on the altar, apparently fallen from its original, upright position against the rear wall above the altar. It might be correct to reconstruct the original arrangement here as follows: the relief in upright position in the middle of the wall, framed by the two marble half-columns (No. 406) on either side. Eros must be regarded as a Chthonic deity, as he holds the torch turned downwards.

Thus we find this temple crowded with deities all of whom should be connected with the Chthonic sphere of divinities. The central god is Serapis who occupied the central, large *cella*. The syncretism of late antiquity is very clearly expressed by these conditions and it is, therefore, not surprising that we have to add at least one other god to this series, represented by the sculptural finds. The inscription, No. 409, mentions a *Πριάπου ἱερόν* which was built at the order of Serapis. Unfortunately it is impossible to locate or determine this temple of Priapus, as the inscription was found re-used as a building-stone fallen from a wall of Temple F. The temple of Priapus might have been situated elsewhere or be some of the undeterminate chapels connected with any of the Temples B or E. Priapus might also have had a place in Temple D. The inscription is interesting also from the point of view that the god Serapis is mentioned.

For the identification of Temple F we must rely entirely upon the architecture, as neither inscriptions nor sculptures were found which could solve the problem. Nothing can be stated with certainty as to this question, but comparisons with the other architecture, made below, will bring the building in close connexion with sanctuaries sacred to Mithras. Temple F will therefore, until the evidence proves otherwise be considered as a temple of Mithras.

In the foregoing we have been able to state that Temple B and probably also Temple A was sacred to Aphrodite in connexion with Cybele (*Ἀφροδείτη Ὀρεῖα*). For this, both inscriptions and sculptures give evidence enough. One or possibly both of Temples C and D were sacred to Isis. This is shown by the sculptures in the *cella* walls of Temple E, which was sacred to Serapis (middle *cella*), Canopus (northern *cella*), and mourning Eros (southern *cella*). The architectural features of Temple F makes it likely that this was sacred to Mithras though neither inscriptions nor sculptures were found confirming it. For the rest of the small chapels nothing but mere suggestions can be said as to their identification.

In the chapter on the chronology of the temples it has been argued that Temple A, built

<sup>7</sup> Weber, W., *Die Ägyptisch-Griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin 1914, p. 19.

in the middle of the 3rd Cent. B. C. was replaced by the double-temple of Aphrodite and Isis about the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C. Furthermore, Temple E cannot, judging by the material, have been constructed much before the middle of the 3rd Cent. A. D. But the temple was still in use during the Constantine period. This holds good, too, as regards Temples B—C, and, finally, Temple F was most likely built during this epoch. The building activity therefore was concentrated at certain periods: with the exception of the first one in the 3rd Cent. B. C., at the middle of the 1st Cent. B. C. and at the 3rd Cent. A. D., and Constantine period.

Now we return to the ancient records of the topography of Soli in order to find out how they correspond to the excavation results obtained. Strabo who may have visited Cyprus just before the birth of Christ mentions the *ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἰσίδος*, but he does not give any detailed particulars as to its place in the town. At the time of Strabo, Temples B and C, the great enlargement of the old Temple A, were just ready, and, as it is not likely that two double-temples of this kind existed at that time in Soli, there is reason to identify Temples B—C with those mentioned by him.

As to the topographical statements given in the *Acta Auxibii* (cf. above) matters are very different from the records of Strabo, as comparatively clear particulars are given of the *templum Jovis Dei — in quo flamen Dialis habitabat*. The temple was situated in the vicinity of the western city-gate, (*vicinum portis civitatis qua parte occasum spectat*). Judging by the further statements, it could be understood that the temple also was situated outside the town because Auxibius had to pass through the temple (*transeuntem*) on his way from Limenia to Soli, and later, when teaching Christianity in the town it is clearly set out that he stayed as the priest's guest in the temple and hence went into the town and back again (. . . *urbem occulte ingrediens et secreto docens, ac rursus recedens, et exiens extra civitatem in praedicto Jovis loco manebat*). It has been argued above, p. 20, that this temple must refer to a temple known at the time when the *Acta* were written, which cannot have been earlier than in the 4th Cent. There can be no doubt that the temple site at Cholades is identical with the place mentioned in the *Acta*. Under such conditions, there are no other temples possible except Temple E, the middle *cella* of which was sacred to Serapis. This god might well be identified with Jupiter by a Christian author. The following may be the right explanation of this matter: Auxibius passed through the temple site in the middle of the 1st Cent. A. D., and stayed as the priest's guest in some of the temples. The tradition of this may have survived to the 4th Cent., when the *Acta Aux.* were written. The author, who evidently was well acquainted with the local circumstances of Soli, connected the traditional story of Auxibius with the known topographical conditions in the author's time. Thus we find references in the text to places and localities which actually did not exist at the time of Auxibius (cf. above). The quotation of sculptures in the temple is interesting as the sculptures mentioned most likely are those belonging to Temple E which, under such conditions must have been more or less preserved or remembered when the *Acta* were written. Evidently Auxibius did not succeed in converting all the citizens of Soli. The temple site and the paganism survived him and even new temples were built on the same place more than a century after his death.



There may be some truth, however, in a suggestion that the destruction of Temple D at the end of the 1st Cent. A. D., was caused by the activity of Auxibius. There are no sculptures found which can be attributed to the century after the bishop, though it must be admitted that they still may be discovered in the vicinity, perhaps in connexion with the buildings, never entirely excavated, of the second intermediate period.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### ARCHITECTURE

On the pages above we have analysed the various temples within the excavated area and we have been able to demonstrate a certain architectural development running parallel with the chronological sequence of the temples. Now we continue the investigation and we will find that the temple types of Cholades are significant not of this site only but that they constitute parts of a long series of temples the beginning of which can be demonstrated in earlier periods.

Similar types of temples, though up to now too much neglected by scholars, are also found not only in Cyprus but they can be traced in many of the surrounding countries. The most important and the most complete monuments, however, for demonstrating the chronological continuity and the relationship between the monuments of the various countries in this question, are to be found in Cyprus.

Furthermore, some of the temple types of the Cholades series prove to be of a certain importance for the future early Christian architecture. In the pagan sacred architecture of Cholades we find closer parallels to the early Christian basilicas than in any other place, and the gradual development of the temples at Cholades shows better than any other monument, how the transformation took place of the old pagan temple type into the well known scheme of the early Christian basilica. As to the plan, all the architectural elements of the Christian basilica are already fully developed in the pagan temple, for instance Temple E in Soli: the entrance on the longitudinal axis, flanked by towers; the tripartite nave; the transept; and finally, the tripartite presbytery. The difference between the pagan and Christian constructions is noticeable not in the plan, but in the way of roofing in the buildings. While a Christian basilica is entirely roofed in with the characteristic basilican section and top light arrangement, the pagan temple is roofed more or less in accordance with a Hellenistic or Roman house, with *atrium* and *compluvium*, with *alae* and *tablinum*.

Let us for the moment leave Temple F which is of different type from the rest of the temples and turn to those, which display many common characteristics; one or two courtyards behind each other and at the rear of the second one, the cult building. In the beginning, the connexion between the *cella* and the courts is very vague and, at any rate, not based on any æsthetical laws of symmetry or axiality. The connexion exists, but only locally and not architecturally. The nature of the ground and the question of space determined the situation

of the two courtyards and the *cella* of Temple A. As good contrasts to this more or less accidentally shaped construction in the beginning of the series, we may point to Temples E and F of the end of it where symmetry and axiality are noted as undeniable aims of the architects. As regards Temple E the three *cellae* are connected with the portico and the courtyard in front of them so, that the whole constitutes a closed, complete building with comparatively simplified exterior outline. Parallel to this development of the temple plans runs the development of the wide, open upper courtyard of Temple A to the porticos of Temples C and D, and furthermore, the gradual roofing-in of the courtyards.

We do not need to move far from Soli when searching for parallels to the temples of Soli types. The architectural elements of Temple E are fully developed already in the royal palace of Vouni, built shortly after 500 B. C. This palace, the architecture of which has been described by Gjerstad<sup>1</sup>, was constructed gradually, during the whole of the 5th Cent. B. C. Four main periods could be distinguished as to the architecture and the original plan was altered in the subsequent periods in a very significant way. At present, however, we may omit these alterations and keep to the original plan as in the first period (Fig. 72). The palace was built around a comparatively small courtyard to which one comes from a large, symmetrical entrance hall which has a tripartite division. Entrance into the court was provided by a large stair, occupying the whole width of the court. The middle of this was open and most of this central portion was occupied by a large water-cistern. On three sides, the court was roofed in by means of porticos, the columns of which were placed on low stylobates. At the rear the stylobate is prolonged to the side walls of the court. Behind the portion, roofed-in in this way, three rooms are placed symmetrically and occupying the whole width of the court. The whole arrangement thus is very similar to what we have found in Temple E of Soli: a tripartite rear to a court provided with porticos on the sides. The only difference is that the whole is constructed as the central part of a large palace so that the side-walls of the court are broken by doorways into other rooms of the palace. It must be pointed out already here that this plan can for good reasons be connected with eastern architecture of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup>

But not only in the palace do we find good parallels to the Soli temples. The sacred architecture of Vouni is perhaps still more significant. Around the royal palace, a great many small chapels were grouped, the biggest of which must be ascribed to the first building period, or to the same period as the above described palace plan. There we meet with a temple similar to Temples A and B in Soli (Fig. 73). From a small, rectangular courtyard a stair with a few steps leads up to an upper courtyard, also of rectangular shape, on which several altars were found. Just at the gate between the courts, a great many sculptures were grouped on either side of the entrance. At the rear, a room or recess was noted, which might correspond to the *cella* of the Soli temples. Due to the narrow space the whole plan was elongated. In a subsequent period (Period 3) the recess was altered and enlarged.

But the most interesting specimen of sacred architecture of Vouni, the temple of Athena,

<sup>1</sup> Gjerstad, E., in Swed. Cyp. Exp., III, Stockholm (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> Gjerstad, in *Corolla Archaeologica*, Lund 1932, p. 145; A. J. A. XXXVII, 1933, p. 589.

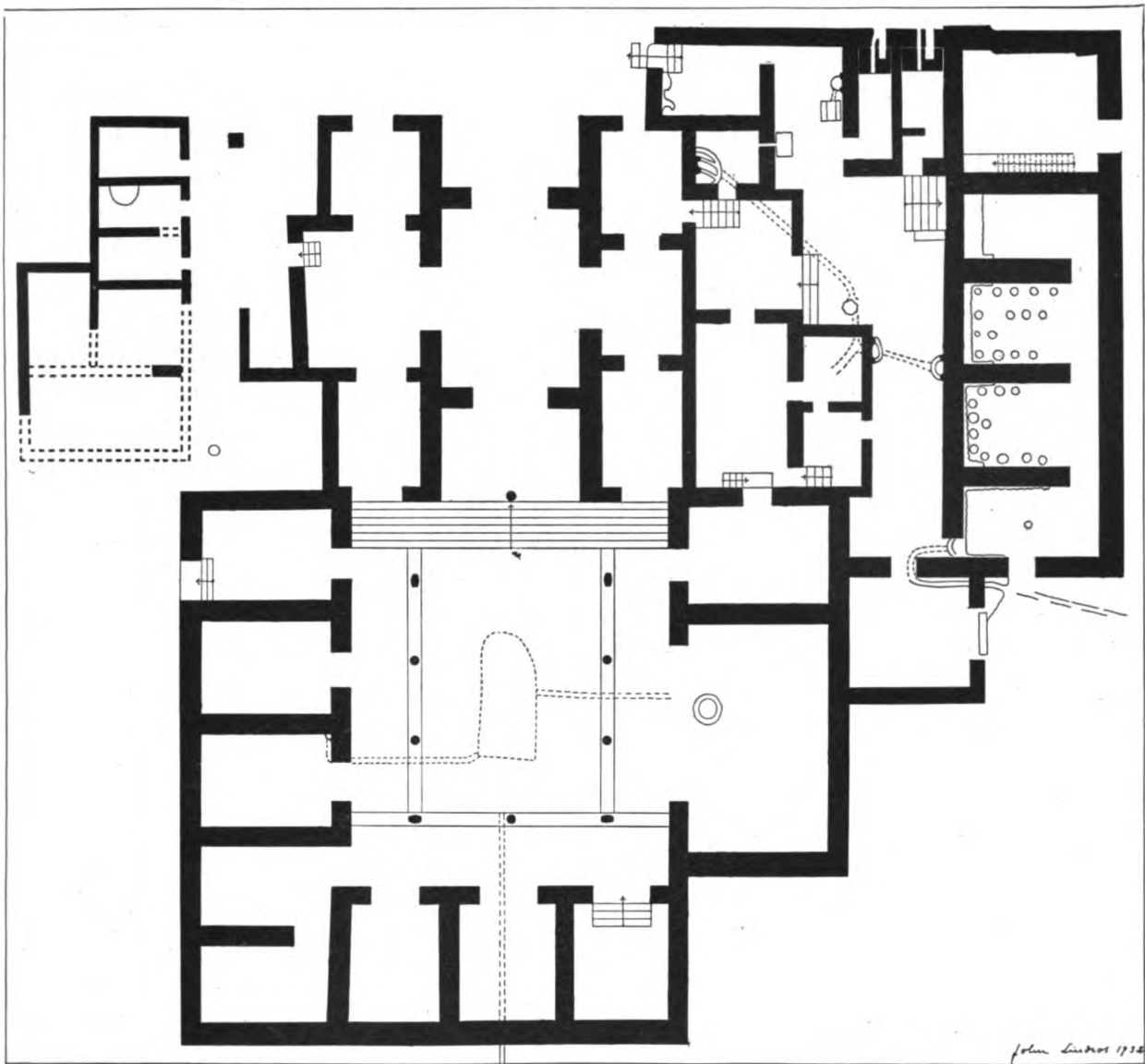


Fig. 72. Vouni. Plan of the palace as in the 1st period.

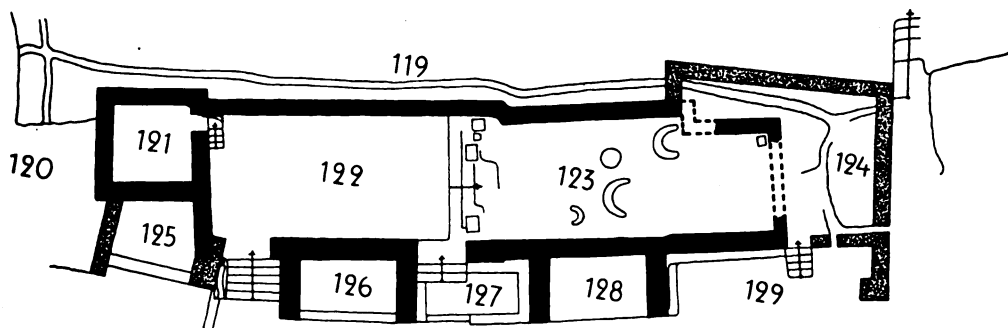


Fig. 73. Vouni. Plan of sanctuary to the north-east of the palace.

might give the best comparisons to the Soli temples.<sup>3</sup> At the top of the hill, the very much destroyed remains of this remarkable temple were discovered and excavated. (Fig. 74.) This temple, which on account of sculptures found in it could be identified as having been sacred to Athena, could be fairly well dated: it belongs to the 3rd quarter of the 5th Cent. B. C. Having passed through an irregular large courtyard surrounded by various buildings, the visitor reaches two open, rectangular courtyards situated one behind the other, and connected by a portico. In the rear of the inner court lies the sanctuary consisting of three narrow-fronted *cellae* side by side and separated by wooden walls. The middle one, larger than the others, opens on to the courtyard by means of a gate. Through doors near this gate the middle *cella* communicates with the lateral *cellae*. These three *cellae*, as it appears, have been united under one roof. Some interesting particulars may be pointed out. To the right of the entrance into the inner courtyard there is a semicircular altar of the same construction as Altar 146 in Temple B in Soli. The situations of the altars are also alike: to the right of the entrance into the last courtyard in front of the sanctuary.

The extraordinary position of the *cellae* may need some explanation. Evidently the inner courtyard was constructed first. The heavy walls which mark the outline of this on the plan are in the nature of mere foundation walls necessary for retaining a solid terrace on top of which the courtyard was situated. The natural rock is here very rough and slopes to the north. When the *cellae* were constructed, the western wall of the terrace was cut through and the sanctuary was placed partly where this wall once had stood and not aligned with it, which would have been natural. It seems hard to find any other explanation to this matter than the lack of space. The whole temple is situated on the very top of the hill on a kind of promontory, the edges of which are very distinctly marked by the steep perpendicular sides of the hill. As can be seen on the plan (Fig. 74) the south-west corner of the sanctuary is just touching this edge. Given that the building should have the present size, there is actually no other way of placing it than somewhat removed to the north of the axis of the courtyard or superimposing this. Both these solutions are combined to the present effect. The axiality and the symmetry thus were lost, but the architect apparently tried to obtain a certain degree of axiality by placing the entrance to the sanctuary as near the middle axis as possible. This explains its present queer position not in the middle of the wall, but to the south, though the building otherwise is symmetrical. We have pointed out a similar striving after entrances and altars on the same axis as regards the temples of Soli.

As to the small chapels north-east of the palace, the connexion between *cella* and courtyard or fore-room in front of it is comparatively close and worked together to an architectural unit. This is, of course, still more evident in the palace, where the whole composition is very firm. When turning to the temple of Athena, however, we note a similar state as in the earlier plans of Soli (Temples A, B, and D). The two elements, sanctuary and courtyard, are not joined together as an architectural unit though the sanctuary is always situated opposite the entrance into the courtyard. Is this temple type entirely located to the region of Soli or can it also be traced in other parts of Cyprus? As far as excavations have been

<sup>3</sup> Westholm, A., in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* III (forthcoming).



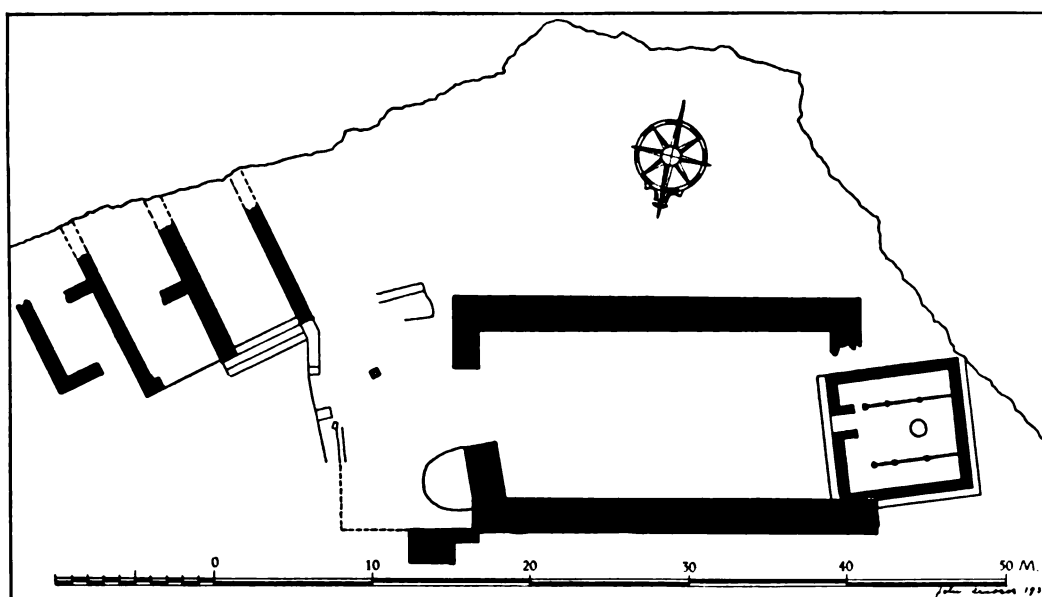


Fig. 74. Vouni. Plan of the temple of Athena.

made this special type of temple is not found before in Cyprus. But this may be due to the fact that very few temple sites have been excavated entirely. As a rule, only the finds and especially the votive statues have interested the excavators and, therefore, excavations have been stopped as soon as the sculptures were removed, in any case long before the whole place was cleared with all its architectural remnants.<sup>4</sup> In 1870 a wonderful *temenos* thus was excavated by general P. L. Cesnola near the village Athienou. As the general's excavation report is rather romantic, perhaps one ought not to pay too much attention to the scientific portions of it and certainly grave doubts should be raised against the correctness of the plan of the *temenos* on p. 139, *op. cit.* This shows a rectangular enclosure within which the bases of the statues have been arranged in three symmetrical rows. There is no sign of a temple *cella* or anything similar. — The *temenoi* at Idalion excavated by Lang<sup>5</sup> and Ohnefalsch-Richter<sup>6</sup> date from about the same time as the Athienou *temenos*. Though the conditions here are very difficult to determine due to lack of careful observations, it may be possible to distinguish the architectural elements of the temple type discussed above. In both of these temple sites, it is possible to distinguish a kind of recess or room corresponding to the *cella*. It is situated at the rear of a courtyard of irregular shape. The temple of Apollon, excavated by Lang, is characterized by two courtyards lying side by side. To either of them was attached a temple *cella* at the rear of the court. One of the *cellae* contained a male statue of colossal size. In front of the other one, there was a courtyard in two levels. The connexion between these was provided by a flight of steps.

<sup>4</sup> Cesnola, *Cyprus etc.*, p. 107; The temple site at Levkoniko, excavated by Myres has even not been published; Cf. J. H. S. 1935, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Lang, R. H., in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, London 1878, p. 30—79; Colonna-Ceccaldi, G., *Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte*, Paris 1882.

<sup>6</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, M., *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin 1893, p. Pl. VII.

As regards the Aphrodite temple in Idalion, too, there seems to have been a temple *cella* at the rear of an open courtyard.<sup>7</sup> In the middle of the *cella* the remains of an altar were found. The room opens into a courtyard of irregular shape situated in front of it. In this many sculptures were found, the bases of which were preserved *in situ* in the court.

The architectural remains of the temple sites of Voni<sup>8</sup> near the village Kythrea and Achna<sup>9</sup> are too fragmentary to be regarded in this connexion. In both these localities the open courtyard containing votive sculptures seems to be recognizable.

While the temples at Athienou and Idalion seem to be more or less indefinite as to the architecture, the most famous Cypriote temple, the Paphian temple of Aphrodite, appears in so many antique representations that one is justified in making a reconstruction of the temple on their basis. This temple, situated close to the modern village Kouklia 18 km east of Ktima, was beyond doubt the most noble sacred edifice in Cyprus and the most famous temple of Aphrodite of the whole ancient world. There, tradition said, Aphrodite first set foot upon the shore after having been born of the foam of the sea, and on the earth on which she trod, flowers and vegetation began to grow.<sup>10</sup> The holy grove and altar of Aphrodite in Paphos are already mentioned by Homer<sup>11</sup> since when many historians and geographers of antiquity have described and mentioned the shrine of Aphrodite in Paphos. If these records are compared for the purpose of forming an idea of the appearance of the temple and the origin and nature of the cult of which the goddess was the centre, we obtain a picture of marked contrast, built upon details infinitely opposed and diverging. So much becomes clear, however, that the Paphos cult was a riddle even to the peoples of antiquity, and that at least to the writers of late antiquity it held a supremely unique position in many respects. A compilation of the available material was already made by Meursius<sup>12</sup> and later on these ancient records were supplemented in some respects by the Danish bishop F. Münter.<sup>13</sup> The magnificent study on the cult of Aphrodite and particularly that of Paphos by W. Engel<sup>14</sup> must also be mentioned here. For the question of the architecture of the temple reference is made to the articles by James and Gardner.<sup>15</sup> All these previous studies make it unnecessary to probe deeply into that lengthy chapter of the nature of the Paphos cult. Regarding the history of the temple building itself, no tradition has been preserved from early times with the exception of some scanty notes which in no way can constitute a base for a reconstruction. They are all of comparatively late date. It is only from the time of the Roman Emperors that, by reference to the works of various writers we can arrive at certain data as to demolitions and reconstructions; and even these are uncertain as one does not always rightly know whether the records concern the old temple site or New Paphos.

<sup>7</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII.

<sup>8</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. V.

<sup>9</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV.

<sup>10</sup> Hesiodus, *Theog.*, 167 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Od. VIII, 362.

<sup>12</sup> Meursius, *Creta, Cyprus et Rhodos*, Amsterdam 1675.

<sup>13</sup> Münter, F., *Der Tempel der himmlischen Göttin zu Paphos*. Copenhagen 1824.

<sup>14</sup> Engel, *Kypros*, II, *Der Kult der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1841.

<sup>15</sup> J. H. S. IX, London 1888, p. 149.



Fig. 75—77. Cypriote coins. 75—76: dating from the time of Vespasian; 77: from the time of Caracalla (after Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*). Cf. Pl. XXVIII, 1.

Besides the statements of the ancient writers, the principal guide to this work has been a series of Cypriote coins of the Roman Empire, on the reverse of which is a representation of the Paphos temple. In addition, there is a similar picture on a series of gems<sup>16</sup> and on a bronze mirror in the Cesnola collection.<sup>17</sup> In L. P. Cesnola, *Cyprus, etc.* Pl. XVI, 20 there is a reproduction of a gold ring with a similar representation of the façade of the Paphos temple (it is turned upside down, however, and described as the ground-plan of the temple). A similar gold ring with a representation of the Paphian temple façade on the bezel belongs to the collection of the Swedish Crown prince.

Of this material the coins are of the greatest interest. Hill has divided them into the following classes, according to the pictures on the reverse:<sup>18</sup>

1. Coins with the central part of the temple only, upright objects at the sides; forecourt (Augustus, Drusus, Vespasian and Trajan). Fig. 75.
2. Elevated central part, with side wings.
  - a. Without court (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian) Fig. 76.
  - b. With court (Septimius Severus and his family) Fig. 77.

The occurrence of the picture of the temple on the Cypriote coins is thus concentrated to certain periods, and it is undeniably natural to combine these with the years in which, according to literary records, the Paphos temple was destroyed and rebuilt. Here, however, we should proceed with great circumspection, and not draw too extensive conclusions from negative factors, i. e., the absence of these coin-types in some periods. Still, it is worth noting that coins of the temple type do not occur during practically the whole of the second century, whereafter it reappears under Septimius Severus in richer form than ever.

Already in the Middle Ages the Paphos ruins were mentioned repeatedly by travellers and later on many have described the ruins visible above ground. In J. H. S. 1888 p. 190 there is an almost complete summary of descriptions of Paphos up to 1888. The most outstanding work from more recent time are the descriptions of Pockocke<sup>19</sup> and v. Hammer.<sup>20</sup> From the latter work have come the particulars as to the topography of Paphos and the plan which v. Hammer drew of the Paphos ruins, which forms the basis of the work of later

<sup>16</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Greek coins of Cyprus*, London 1904, Pl. XXVI, 13—16.

<sup>17</sup> di Cesnola, P. A., *Salamina*, p. 59, Fig. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. CXXVI.

<sup>19</sup> Pockocke, R., *Travels in the east*, London 1745.

<sup>20</sup> v. Hammer, J., *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levant*, Wien 1811.

investigators right up to Cesnola's time. The plan has since proved to be too strongly coloured by the author's imagination. This is still more true of the plan and excavation report prepared by L.P. Cesnola in *Cyprus*, etc. 1877. The excavations and sketch-plan of the temple have been consigned by Gardner<sup>21</sup> to the domain of scientific frauds. How the site looked just before the English excavation was made in 1887, is trustworthily described by Ludwig Ross.<sup>22</sup> He considered that the importance of the ruins had been greatly overrated and he rejected the thought of the possibility of using the visible remains as the starting point of a reconstruction of the temple in the style of the device on the coins. In 1887 an English expedition endeavoured to clear up this long-debated problem by means of excavations. Of the architectural remains uncovered at Kouklia by this expedition there is nothing that even approximately can be compared with the temple façade of the coins. According to the plan (Fig. 78) a number of open halls or porticos of different periods seem to have been grouped mainly about a large court, and the attempts to make these agree with the coin pictures were not even convincing to the authors themselves. The court is oriented in east-west direction and is provided with entrance from the east. The western portions of this construction are still buried under earth and remain to be excavated. Judging by what has been ascertained as to the previously described temple architecture one should expect to find the temple *cellae* at the rear of the courtyard opposite the east entrance. In this direction, too, lies the summit of the ruins. Furthermore, according to the peasants of the village, many sculptures have occasionally been discovered just in this area, at least one of them dating from the 6th Cent. B. C.<sup>24</sup> Not far from the western boundary of the excavated area the huge black, polished stone of conical form was found,<sup>25</sup> which for good reasons may be regarded as Aphrodite's sacred cult-object, like that visible on the coin pictures. But on the other hand it must be remembered that the area excavated by the English expedition constitutes only a very small part of the whole temple site. Evidently there have been several constructions and courtyards within this sacred precinct and the possibility must be allowed for that the excavations have uncovered, not a part of the central temple but buildings in the periphery of the temple site. Therefore one should be chary in using the results of previous excavations in Kouklia when making a reconstruction of the Paphos temple. Such reconstructions have been proposed several times before.<sup>26</sup> In the future, however, these suggestions will be disregarded as far as possible and an attempt will be made to find out in what manner the representations of the Paphos temple on coins and gems agree with the excavated temples in Soli. In doing so we should certainly confine ourselves as far as possible to the coins of the time of Septimius Severus and his family which are the most rich in detail and of finer workmanship. When a cursory comparison of the picture material

<sup>21</sup> J. H. S., 1888, p. 204; cf. Gardner's detailed criticism in *The Nation*, 6 and 13. 9, 1888.

<sup>22</sup> Ross, L., *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln* IV, p. 180.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. S. IX, London 1888, p. 147—271.

<sup>24</sup> This is a fragment of a limestone sphinx which in 1934 was kept in the police station of Kouklia.

<sup>25</sup> In 1933 it was brought to the museum of Nicosia.

<sup>26</sup> Lenz, C. G., *Die Göttin von Paphos*, Copenhagen 1824; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris 1885, III, p. 266; Blinkenberg, C., *Le temple de Paphos*, Copenhagen 1924; Westholm, *The Paphian temple of Aphrodite*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, Copenhagen 1933, p. 200.



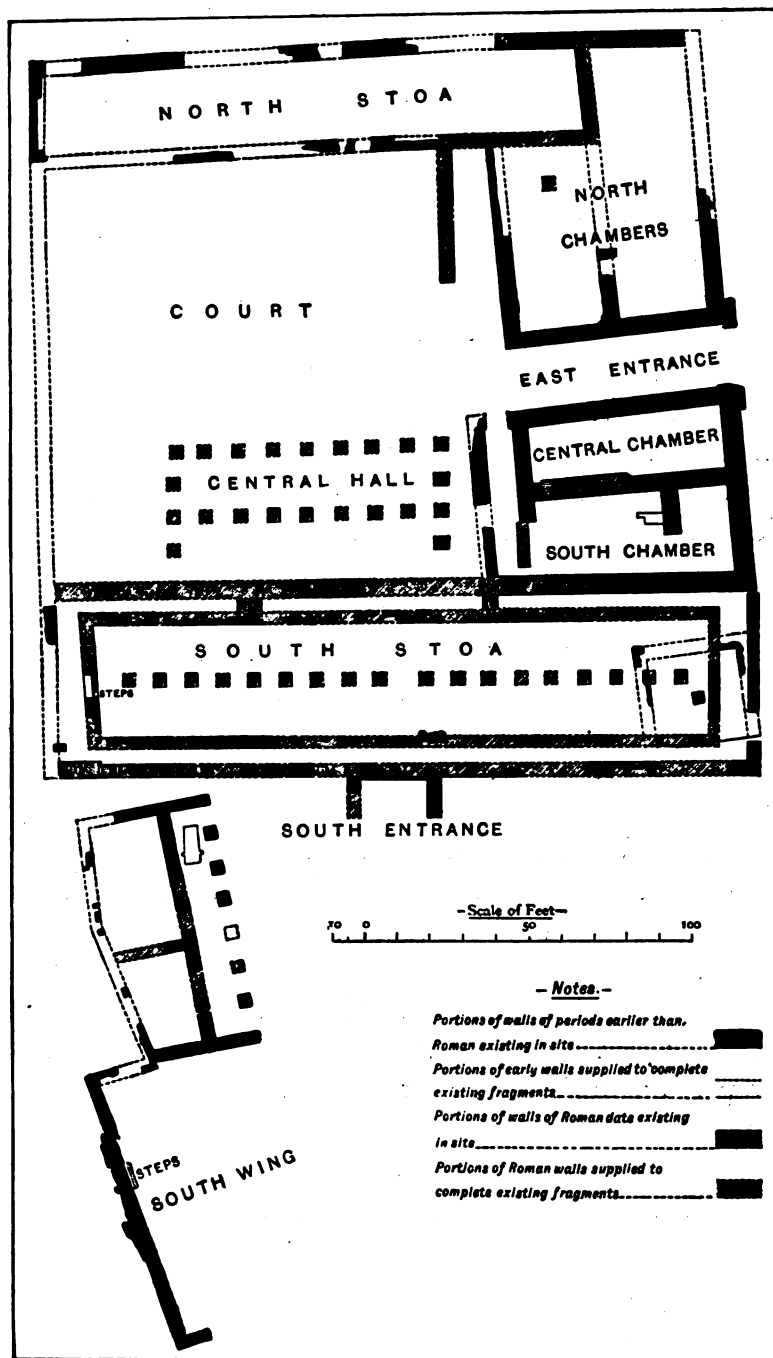


Fig. 78. Plan of the English excavations at Paphos. (J. H. S. IX).

reveals that a number of details usually recur throughout the whole, there can be no doubt that to all the various artists it has been of importance to reproduce these details as clearly and exactly as possible. We can therefore feel comparatively sure of standing on firm ground when we treat of details which persistently occur in several different forms of picture, for instance on both coins and gems. On the other hand it is certain that, when a detail appears in a number of varying forms on different pictures, and sometimes is left out entirely, we must be warned to be more cautious in its interpretation; the value of such a detail must be less than that of the others.

The upper half of the coin pictures (Fig. 77) represents a tripartite temple façade with a higher, more solidly built middle section all seen from the front. The lower half of the picture where a courtyard situated before the temple façade is represented, is taken from quite a different angle; the court is seen from above almost in plan, whereas objects in the court are seen from the side. This peculiar perspective is the customary one in the relief work of late antiquity. The real shape of the court has been the subject of lively debate. Münter<sup>27</sup> and with him Hill<sup>28</sup> consider that it has been semi-circular as on the coin picture, whereas Gardner<sup>29</sup> holds that on account of the space it has had to conform to the shape of the coin, and that one cannot draw any conclusion from this. The circumstance that the boundary line of the courtyard is entirely absent on some coins<sup>30</sup> and sometimes only indicated<sup>31</sup> and on others<sup>32</sup>, as on two gems<sup>33</sup> is conventionalized in the form of a garland-like torus, also indicate that to the artist the designing of the court has been merely secondary. It may be right to reconstruct the courtyard as square or rectangular in accordance with the architectural remains in Paphos as well as other Cypriote temple sites. Semi-circular temple-courts occur only rarely.<sup>34</sup>

Just below the middle *cella* is a long object or a horizontal line, distinctly marked, which has been the cause of much speculation. Gardner doubts the theory that the court is a basin and that the line represents a fish in it. Head and with him Hill<sup>35</sup> consider that the round dots on the right of the court might be explained as food for the doves in which case the line might represent a trough with their bath and drinking water. Neither of these explanations is likely. Especially with regard to the distorted proportions in this part of the picture, the line may be compared with the terrace or somewhat elevated portico in Temples D and E in Soli. Similar porches are more or less distinguishable as to other temples, too. This explanation of the ridge below the middle *cella* is supported by two of the gems<sup>36</sup> on which a separate horizontal field has been cut just under the temple façade, stretching across the

<sup>27</sup> Münter, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. CXXXIII.

<sup>29</sup> J. H. S. IX, London 1888, p. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XV, 1, 3, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XV, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XXVI, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1; Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XXVI, 13; Münter, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, 9.

<sup>34</sup> Westholm, *The Paphian temple etc.*, p. 217.

<sup>35</sup> Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. CXXXIV.

<sup>36</sup> Münter, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, 7; Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. XXVI, 13, 15; Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1.

entire width of the court and differing from it in marking. By analogy with what has been ascertained of the Soli temples, the round objects on the court may be explained as altars.

Passing to the façade itself on the coin pictures, it is striking that the middle portion looks much more solidly built and is elevated above the roof of the side portions. The plan of Temple E in Soli with the larger *cella* suggests a similar reconstruction of that temple. There is a variation, however, in that on the coin pictures the entrances to the three *cellae* occupy the whole of the front walls, whereas we find in Temple E that all three entrances could be closed by double doors in the middle portion of each *cella* wall. In this respect, however, the coins of the time of Vespasian and Domitian differ considerably from the later issues (Fig. 76).

The importance of the Paphian temple of Aphrodite for other sacred architecture in Cyprus cannot be estimated, but certainly the temple structures of Paphos were leading, architecturally, just as the Aphrodite cult greatly influenced the whole island. The foregoing argument proves that the Paphos temple should be referred to the same kind of constructions as those discovered at Vouni and Soli. It is but natural to suppose that this type of temple plan as far as concerns Cyprus originates in Paphos and that the great sanctuary there has kept this building tradition from very remote periods down to the Roman Empire, which has provided us with the only preserved representations of the type. The architecture of Vouni shows that similar plans were used as early as about 500 B. C., and in the following pages we will see that the Paphos façade as Blinkenberg has shown, very likely must be brought in its connexion with Minoan architecture. Though the symmetrical façade of the Paphos temple thus can be traced as having a very old tradition, it occurs in Soli first with Temple E in a comparatively late period as a marked contrast to the earlier asymmetrical constructions of the place. Whether this is due to direct inspiration from Paphos or not is impossible to ascertain. As already has been pointed out, however, the coins of the temple type do not occur during practically the whole of the second century but reappear under Septimius Severus in a richer form than ever. This might indicate that the temple was rebuilt or enlarged by Severus, the reign of whom actually marks a period of building activity all over the island (cf. p. 159). If this is right it seems natural to suppose that Temple E in Soli, constructed during the 3rd Cent., was directly influenced by the large edifice in Paphos.

The architectural development in Vouni and Soli shows that the symmetrical and the asymmetrical plans are variations of the same common type, the two principal elements of which are a sanctuary consisting of one to three rooms arranged at the side of each other but always connected with a courtyard placed in front of the main façade.

The asymmetrical temples of this type are predominant in the earlier periods and the asymmetrical shape is often due to the nature of the surroundings and the local conditions.

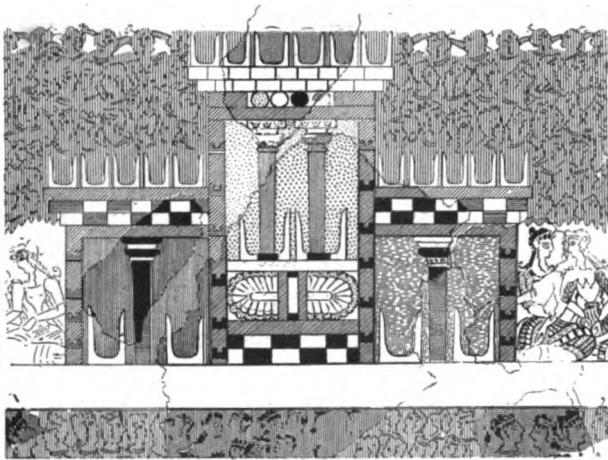


Fig. 79. Fresco painting from the palace of Knossos  
(Journ. of Royal Inst. of Brit. Architects XVIII).



Fig. 80. Golden sheet from  
Mycenae.

Blinkenberg, in his study on the Paphos temple<sup>37</sup> compares this with the famous fresco painting<sup>38</sup> belonging to the period L. M. I. and found in the palace of Knossos (Fig. 79). Very similar to this fresco painting are five small sheets of pressed gold found in the shaft graves in Mycenae, displaying a similar gable as on the fresco painting, but with doves on the roof (Fig. 80). Blinkenberg's careful comparison between this material and the temple pictures on the Cyprian coins and gems, reveals such great similarities that despite the great difference of time, a real connexion between the buildings portrayed is presumable. Much that is known of the Paphian cult may also, as Blinkenberg has pointed out, be placed in direct association with the Mycenaean cult. For this very interesting chapter reference is made here to Vol. IV of *The Swed. Cyp. Exp.* which will deal with questions in connexion with the history of religion of the Soli temples. So much goes to prove that a type of sacred building existed in the Minoan-Mycenaean world which was of tripartite construction with high central portion, very similar to the temple type we have traced in Cyprus.

Of course, in these pictures it is impossible to ascertain whether the temple was connected with a courtyard before the entrance as in the Cypriote construction, or if it simply consisted of *cellae* side by side. In the following discussion, therefore, we leave the question of the courtyard and concentrate on the investigation in the sanctuary itself. The Minoan and Mycenaean pictures mentioned, all show a very symmetric façade with a raised central portion and we have therefore to start with this type. It must be pointed out that this is a temple type, entirely separate from the Greek temples, which seems to have developed under the influence of the Mycenaean palace architecture from the megaron type *in antis* to the

<sup>37</sup> Blinkenberg, *Le temple de Paphos*, Copenhagen 1924.

<sup>38</sup> Evans, A., *Palace of Minos III*, London 1930, § 7. An earlier attempt to compare the frescos with a certain part of the Knossos palace was made by Evans, *Restored shrine on central court of the palace of Knossos*, in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1911.

*peripteros*<sup>39</sup>. The temples here concerned are wide-fronted and each *cella* is provided with a separate entrance. As far as can be seen in pictures, we know nothing about the proportions of the *cella*, whether it is narrow-fronted or not. This question, however, is of a certain importance for the determination of the origin of the type. Wachsmuth<sup>40</sup> and others have shown that the narrow-frontality seems to be a western feature, whereas the wide-frontality is characteristic of eastern, Mesopotamian architecture. In Mesopotamia, the wide-fronted temples seem to originate in Babylonian architecture, while those with narrow front can be connected with Assyrian architecture. It has proved to be a good test of the origin of a construction to consider the proportions of the rooms, and especially the central block of rooms. Furthermore, the temple type concerned must be distinguished from the constructions with interior hypostyle hall, like the temples of Egypt. It must be admitted, however, that columns are noted on the fresco from Knossos, but these are probably not meant otherwise than as supports in the entrance of the building, as we know the arrangement from the architecture of Knossos.

An investigation of the cases in which the temple type concerned has been traced by excavations or otherwise shows, that in the prehistoric period the type was not restricted to Crete and countries under Minoan influence. The temples of this kind on the contrary seem to have been constructed in various countries around the Mediterranean Sea, a fact which has caused Thiersch to call it an old Mediterranean temple type. The excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh have uncovered a cult-building, consisting of three rooms side by side, the middle one somewhat wider; in front of these rooms is placed a kind of narrow vestibule<sup>41</sup>. The proportions of the building are noticeable: the three inner rooms together form an almost square plan. A similar building which Badé has identified as an Astarte temple was found in the eastern part of the *tell*. At first, Badé dated this building to 800—600 B. C.<sup>42</sup>, but later corrected the statement<sup>43</sup> and admitted that the building should be dated as early as 1200 B. C. But Tell en-Nasbeh is not the only place where this temple type is met with in Palestine. At Gerar,<sup>44</sup> Flinders Petri found a building consisting of three narrow rooms and in front of them a small, irregular plastered court. The arrangement is thus exactly like that in Tell en-Nasbeh and there can be no doubt that the examples mentioned represent a temple type already common in the second millennium B. C., and spread over a considerable

<sup>39</sup> There has been an inclination to recognize a genetic connexion between the Mycenaean megaron and the Greek temple *in antis* although no Mycenaean megaron can definitely be associated with any cult. There is scarcely any justification for presuming a development like this. It can only be a question of a surviving building tradition from a constructive point of view, as Dinsmoor has pointed out. Cf. Wolters in Springer-Michaelis, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 1923, I, p. 141. In Kourakou (Blegen, C., *Kourakou, a prehistoric settlement near Corinth*, Boston and New York 1921, p. 79), circumstances have been observed in some of the excavated houses indicating a real house cult, but, characteristically enough, this is always in houses which are not of genuine megaron type with *ante*. The same applies to a cult-building excavated in Asine, Nilsson, M., *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, etc., Lund, 1927, p. XX, Pl. III. The megaron buildings proper seem to be only indirectly — through the altars of the fore-court — connected with the cult. Cf. Sjöwall, H., *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult*, Lund 1931, p. 7 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Wachsmuth, F., *Der Raum*, I, Marb. a. d. Lahn 1929.

<sup>41</sup> Badé, W., *Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh 1926 and 1927*, Berkely, Calif. 1928—1929, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Badé, in *Bull. of the Americ. School of orient. research in Jerusalem*, Oct. 1927, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Badé, in *Zeitschr. f. die alttest. Wiss.* 1929, p. 325.

<sup>44</sup> Petri, Flinders, *Gerar*, Publ. of Br. School of Arch. in Egypt, No. 43, 1928, Pl. IX.



portion of the Mediterranean. Besides this type with three separate rooms, side by side, there is another temple type which, however, should not be confused, as Thiersch has done<sup>45</sup> with that previously described. This is the temple consisting of a more or less square *cella*, divided into three aisles by means of two rows of columns. This is represented both in sacred and other architecture in almost the same regions as the other type, but the hypostyle hall must be considered as having another origin than the tripartite *cella* building. We know the hypostyle hall from the Minoan palaces<sup>46</sup>. In Crete, too, the hypostyle hall is preserved in a peculiar way in the temple of Apollon in Gorthyn<sup>47</sup>. In Cyprus, hypostyle halls are not known in any pre-Roman period, but in Palestine we find the type represented. At Megiddo,<sup>48</sup> at Sichem,<sup>49</sup> and at Beisan<sup>50</sup> hypostyle temples have been discovered.

All these early temples, or cult-buildings are mentioned in order to show that the Cypriote temples described above, must be regarded in connexion with the conditions in the neighbouring countries, and that the investigation must start with the presumptions already assumed in prehistoric times. In Cyprus, the tradition of this period is unbroken, as is demonstrated by the numerous monuments dating from various epochs described above. The mighty temple of Paphos may here have conserved the building tradition, in connexion with the secular palace architecture. Blinkenberg's suggestion that the typological connexion between the temple represented in the Minoan world and in Paphos, should have been caused by direct contact between Crete and Cyprus is hardly correct. Such direct connexions between Crete and Cyprus are not traceable<sup>51</sup>. This question should certainly be viewed in the light of the latest researches in Cilicia<sup>52</sup> and in North Syria<sup>53</sup> where the recent French excavations have shown a strong Mycenaean influence. These eastern Mycenaean colonies, too, constituted the source of Mycenaean civilization in Cyprus and the temple type in question has, therefore, most likely come to Cyprus via Eastern Anatolia and North Syria, and not direct from Crete. This is confirmed by the plan of Vouni, which as Gjerstad<sup>54</sup> has shown, finds its closest parallels in the architecture of Asia Minor. Furthermore, tradition leads the famous hierarchy in Paphos to these very countries.<sup>55</sup> It may be, that this is just the explanation of the peculiar conformity between the Cypriote palace architecture which we

<sup>45</sup> Thiersch, H., *Ein altmediterranean Tempeltyp*, in *Zeitschr. f. die alttest. Wiss.*, L, 1932, p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Leroux, G., *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, p. 106 ff. Mallia: *École française d'Athènes, Études crétoises, I, Fouilles exécutées à Mallia*, Paris 1928; cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, p. 151; B. C. H. 1930, p. 352.

<sup>47</sup> *Monumenti Antichi*, XVIII, 1907—08, p. 181.

<sup>48</sup> Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>49</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palestina Vereins*, Leipzig 1926, p. 303, Pl. 33—34, 37—40; 1927, p. 206, Pl. 11—12; 1928, p. 119—123, Pl. 8—12.

<sup>50</sup> Fitzgerald, G., in the *Publ. of the Palest. sect. of the Mus. of the Univ. of Pennsylv.* *The four Canaanite temples of Beth-shan*.

<sup>51</sup> Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala 1926, p. 209—210 is unable to show, as far as pottery is concerned, more than four Minoan imported vessels found in Cyprus, which practically negative result is eloquent when it is remembered that the islands are in close geographical proximity. The material has not been added to by any objects through the comprehensive investigations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition; cf. *Swed. Cyp. Exp. I*, 1934, where most of the expedition's prehistoric material is published.

<sup>52</sup> Gjerstad, *Cilician studies*, in *Revue Arch.*, Paris 1934.

<sup>53</sup> Schaeffer, A., *Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra*, in *Syria* 1929—1933.

<sup>54</sup> Gjerstad, in *Corolla Arch.*, Lund 1932, p. 146 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Tac. *Hist.* II, 3; Cf. J. H. S., 1888, p. 178.

know from Vouni, and the temple architecture traced in Paphos. The royal palace at Paphos is not yet explored, but there is nothing to indicate that we may not imagine it as being of the same style as the Vouni palace. It seems natural that at any rate in Paphos where the offices of king and priest were united in the same person, the palace architecture and the temple architecture should influence one another, if strictly speaking, we should separate these two notions at all. At any rate, we can see in this an explanation of the remarkable similarities between the different forms of architecture (cf. above).

The comparative material in the regions whence the temple type — as also the palace architecture — spread to Cyprus is unfortunately not large and future excavations here will probably be of importance. Little of Syria's Hellenistic and earlier architecture has been examined, and therefore, we lack important links which would facilitate the tracing of the transition from the time of the great palaces of the tenth to the seventh centuries up to the Roman period.

It is perhaps not only a mere chance that the temple type in question can be traced to a certain degree at Dura. Cumont's excavation of 1922—23 uncovered considerable portions of the temples of Artemis and Atargatis<sup>56</sup>. These excavations have been continued under the direction of Yale university, and in 1928—29, the temples were entirely cleared. The architecture and the temple plans are published in the excavators' third report<sup>57</sup>. The temple of Atargatis, beside the temple of the Palmyrene gods<sup>58</sup> is the monument which interests us. Bellinger has described the essential features of the temple of Atargatis as follows (Fig. 81): an entrance at the east end through a vestibule; a central open court, surrounded by small rooms and containing an altar; a pronaos with its greatest length at right angles to the line of the entrance to the naos; a naos at the west end, flanked by two small rooms to left and right. The same features are also characteristic of the temple of the Palmyrene gods in Dura, only with the modifications that the entrance is not quite opposite the naos; the pronaos has a chamber beside it and the naos or *cella* is flanked by only one chamber, which apparently is due to the close vicinity of a large tower on the other side.

The similarities between the temple of Atargatis and Temple E in Soli are evident, if we disregard the fact that the court of the former is surrounded by rooms, and that there is only an entrance to the central room of the sanctuary proper. Furthermore, there is an interesting detail which must be mentioned: the pronaos of the temple of Atargatis is provided with seats arranged like steps on either side of the middle passage. We have a good parallel in the Soli temple, where the seats were added subsequently to the original plan, so that they partly blocked the entrances to the lateral *cellae*.

The excavators have traced the origin of the temple plans quite correctly to the old Babylonian, sacred architecture. They point at the Ninmach temple at Babylon<sup>59</sup>. As in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Dura, the entrance here is somewhat off the centre of the

<sup>56</sup> Cumont, F., *Fouilles de Doura-Europos 1922—23*, Paris 1926, p. 169.

<sup>57</sup> Baur, P.,-Rostovtzeff, M.,-Bellinger, A., *The excavations at Dura-Europos*, New Haven 1932.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, second report 1931, p. 11, Pl. VII.

<sup>59</sup> Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, Leipzig 1913, p. 55, Fig. 38; Cf. also the temple "Z", *op. cit.* p. 218, which is somewhat more complicate but of generally the same type.



Fig. 81. Dura. Plan of the temple of Atargatis. (After Bellinger.)

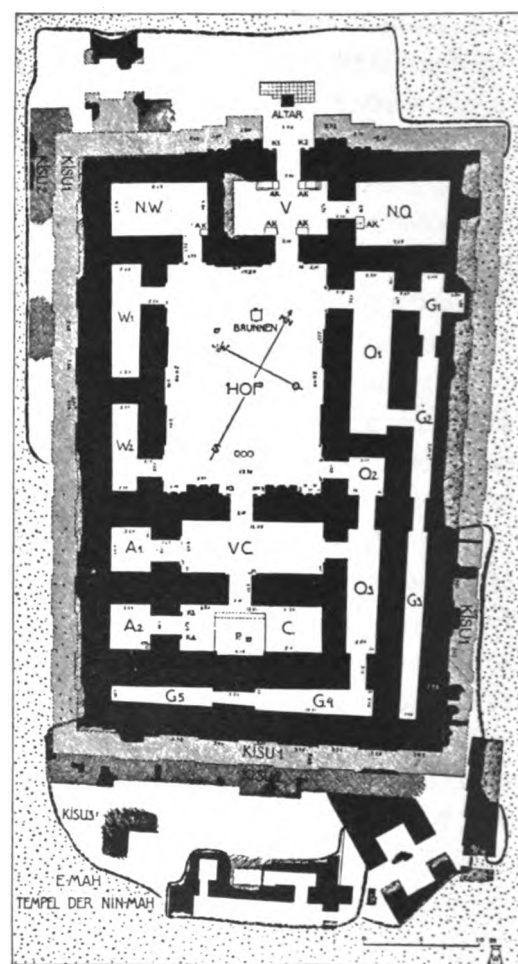


Fig. 82. Babylon. Plan of the temple of Ninmach. (After Koldewey.)

courtyard and the pronaos (Fig. 82). The court, too, is surrounded by narrow rooms as in the Dura temples and the positions of the naos and side-chamber are also alike. The Ninmach temple certainly represents an old building tradition though it received its final plan during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (604—561 B. C.). Fortunately it is possible to show that the Ninmach temple plan also was used in later periods. The German excavations at Warka have uncovered a temple of Anu and Antum of a very similar plan<sup>60</sup>. This was built during the Seleucid era. It is interesting to find that the altar here is situated in front of the entrance to the pronaos, as in the temples of Dura and Soli, and not, as in the Ninmach temple, outside the main entrance. Considering the Mediterranean temple plans described above, we are able to find a type of temple in the east, which, though in many respects differing from the other, on the other hand, offers many particulars of likeness. The Babylonian temples are built around a court, with rooms placed all round. In the earliest specimen, the axiality is not strictly maintained, while this is the case at least in some of the later monuments. The Mediterranean plans are in contrast to this type, in the way that the court in the earlier monu-

<sup>60</sup> Jordan, J., *Uruk-Warka, Ausgrabungen d. Deutsch. Or. Ges.*, Leipzig 1928.

ments seems to play a comparatively minor role, whereas the symmetry, always seems to be the rule. In both cases the sanctuary proper consists of rooms placed at the side of each other. In the western region, as a rule, each room is provided with a separate entrance, whereas in the eastern temples, only the central room can be entered directly from the court or the pronaos. In each region, a continuous building tradition can be traced during the first millenium B. C., in the east from the Babylonian temples via the temple in Warka to the Dura temples; in the west from the Minoan fresco pictures and the Palestine temples via the Archiac temples of Paphos and Vouni to the Soli temples.

Unfortunately, because of the lack of sufficient material, it is hardly possible to show in what way the eastern and western types have influenced one another. But, I think, there are some questions concerning the temples of Dura which cannot be explained otherwise than by a certain influence from the west. Bellinger<sup>61</sup> in his discussion of the temples, points out that Dura was a Greek Macedonian colony and that the temples concerned must have been founded early in the city's history. The Babylonian building tradition may be all right in Warka, in the centre of Babylonian influence: there, it is but natural to build a temple to Babylonian gods on a Babylonian plan as late as in Seleucid times. But things are otherwise in Dura, which was established to protect Hellenic culture in the midst of a doubtful and hostile dessert. The city had no connexion with Babylonia as far as can be ascertained. The temples are dedicated to Greek, Syrian, and Palmyrene gods, which preserved their Greek nature even in later periods of the city's history, as the inscriptions show. Bellinger states that this question cannot be satisfactorily answered by means of the present excavation results of Dura, and he leaves the problem to be solved by future excavations.

I think, this can be done as soon as we are able to show that a temple existed in the west with many of the essential features common to the temples at Dura. Bellinger points out that these may have had important likenesses to the large temple of Atargatis at Hieropolis, known only from literary records<sup>62</sup>, though the plans can hardly have been identical. As regards preserved monuments, I think the Soli temples may offer the best parallels. We may leave such definitely eastern features as the wide-frontality of the rooms, and courtyards, and the fact that the courtyards, as in Babylonian architecture, are surrounded by rooms for various purpose, which all may be explained by the vicinity to the east, and concentrate on the features common to both cases. Then we shall find that these are so essential, that a genetic connexion between the temples concerned must be supposed. In the temple of Atargatis we find the same axiality as in Temple E in Soli; the entrance to the court is from the east opposite the naos or *cella* which is placed against the rear wall of the temple. The altar is placed in the middle of the court, on the main axis. The sanctuary building admittedly does not occupy the whole width of the court, but otherwise the arrangement is similar. The pronaos of the Atargatis temple is nicely paralleled in Soli by the terrace in front of the *cellae*, and even the much debated steps or seats on either side are found in Soli<sup>63</sup>. There

<sup>61</sup> Bellinger, *op. cit.*, p. 21—22.

<sup>62</sup> Lucian, *De dea Syria*, C. 50; Cf. the pictures of the temples at Heliopolis and Zeugma on Roman coins, Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, London 1899, Pls. XXXVI, 2, 6, 7 and XVI, 11, 13, 14.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos 1922—23*, Paris 1926, p. 184.

remains the naos with the lateral rooms. In Dura only the central chamber was used as naos whereas the lateral rooms are supposed to be used as treasuries. This explains why only the central chamber is provided with direct entrance from the pronaos. In Soli, the lateral rooms served the same purpose as the central one, which was ascertained by the sculptures found almost *in situ* on the altar, or ikonostasis. But if we compare the conditions in Dura with the temple of Athena at Vouni (Fig. 74), we find exactly the same arrangement as regards the entrance to the tripartite sanctuary building. At Vouni, too, the lateral rooms have served the purpose of storing votive offerings.

These comparisons between the temples in Cyprus and Dura have shown that there exist considerable likenesses, both as regards the general plans, as well as in certain architectural details. The likelihood that a connexion really existed between the monuments of the two centres, would of course increase, if we could find similar agreements between Cyprus and other Syrian places. If we go to the big Nabataean centres of Hauran, there should be plenty of parallels between the countries in question even if it must be admitted that the Nabataean architecture in other respects displays entirely different features.

At Petra, in the south, the tripartite façade with raised middle *cella* is very common in the rock graves, and sometimes it is combined with a peristyle courtyard hewn out of the rock<sup>64</sup> and in Tawane, not far from Petra there is such a triple-celled temple with narrow-fronted *cellae* and a forecourt preserved<sup>65</sup>.

Among the earliest of the preserved monuments of Nabataean architecture is the large Ba'al temple at Si, dated by an inscription to 33—32 B. C.<sup>66</sup>. With its double courts, this enormous temple displays certain similarities to the plans of Cypriote temples, particularly the sanctuaries at Vouni. Turning to the temple building itself we find that the entrance hall to the temple is no other than the *hilani* grouping of the rooms known from the palaces of Sendjirli in north Syria<sup>67</sup>, which has been preserved until so late a time. In other respects the temple at Si has no direct points of similarity to the Cypriote type, but it shows that in Syria, too, the building tradition from earlier periods is unbroken, and that there has been a relationship between the earlier palace architecture, and the later temples similar to that which we have traced in Cyprus<sup>68</sup>.

Among other Nabataean temples, the Tychaion at is-Sanamen<sup>69</sup> presents interesting points of resemblance with Temple E in Soli (Fig. 83). It consists of three *cellae* side by side, and opening upon an uncovered quadratic courtyard surrounded by high walls. The inside of these are not roofed in, but are decorated with semicolumns imitating porticos. Although there is no definite proof, Butler considers that this courtyard has never been roofed-over, but has been

<sup>64</sup> Brünnow-Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 394 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Brünnow-Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

<sup>66</sup> Butler, H., *Publ. of the Princeton Arch. Exp. to Syria*, II A, Leyden 1907, p. 374 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Koldewey, R., *Ausgrabungen in Sendjirli*, II, Berlin 1898, p. 183.

<sup>68</sup> Bissing, F. v., *Der persische Palast und die Turmbasilika*, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, Wien-Hellerau 1923, p. 40, has pointed out a similar relationship between Persian palace- and temple architecture, for example Kyros Apadana in Pasargadae, and some of the Armenian tower basilicas, e. g. that in Ereruk.

<sup>69</sup> Butler, *Publ. of the Princ. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, II A, p. 316; Butler, The Tychaion at is-Sanamen, in *Revue Arch.* 4, VIII, 1906, p. 413.



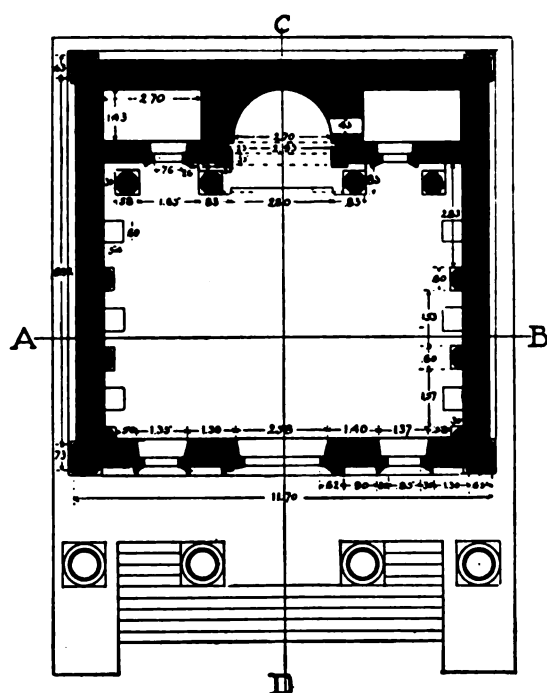


Fig. 83. Is-Sanamen. Plan of the Tychaion (after Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*).

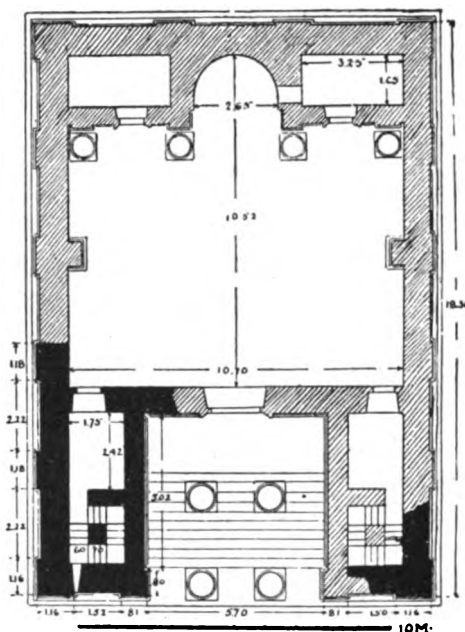


Fig. 84. Slem. Plan of temple (after Butler, *Ancient Architecture, in Syria*).

quite open. In front of the courtyard in the Tychaion, there is a covered portico which also has a kind of counterpart in the Soli temples. Among the Nabataean temples, the Tychaion at is-Sanamen occupies a position of its own. Others, for instance the temple at Slem,<sup>70</sup> in plan agree in every way, but what in is-Sanamen was an open courtyard has been covered with a roof supported by a transverse vault (Fig. 84). There can be no doubt that these different types of temples, localized to the same region, are intimately related to one another. We will return to this question of the roofing-in of the court-temples on a later page.

Butler considers that the peculiar Nabataean temples have been developed from earlier, local Hellenistic architecture although no trace of it has yet been found in Syria. Evidently most of the decorative elements connected with the Nabataean architecture are based upon traditions from Hellenism, most likely as it developed in the east. So far, there can be no doubt as to the Greek origin of the architecture. The western influence is also clearly recognized in the secular architecture of different kind and here we need not hesitate to explain the general outline of the buildings by means of western influence and western prototypes. The numerous theatres and bouleuteria, etc. in many of the Nabataean centres offer material enough for this conclusion. But as regards the temple plans, it seems to be difficult to find close parallels within the western Hellenistic architecture. The *hilani*-arrangement is often met with in Nabataean architecture, more or less preserved in its original form as we know it from Sendjirli. The comparison between the plans of the temples at is-Sanamen and Slem indicates how the development of the latter type took place. The plans are almost

<sup>70</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, II A, p. 356.

identical. In the Tychaion, the interior consists of an open court with three rooms at the rear, which open on to the court. In the temple at Slem the whole is covered in with roof. Evidently, the closed Nabataean temples have developed from the court-temple of earlier periods by the roofing-in of the narrow court. The three rooms at the rear of the court in the Tychaion, and of the big square room in the Slem temple, should thus correspond to the temples of the earlier periods consisting of three rooms side by side, which are found if not in exactly the same region, in the close vicinity. The altered proportions of the rooms may be explained by the influence from the east or the north, recognizable otherwise. Certainly this development must have taken place, as the architectural decoration also suggests, under the strong influence of the Hellenistic and Roman closed temple buildings, but the fact that the plan of the temples can be traced back to the early Mediterranean temple plans is here of the greatest interest.

The big temple constructions at Si<sup>71</sup>, Sahr<sup>72</sup> and Sur<sup>73</sup> show what an important role the court played in the Nabataean temple plan. The large atria of these temples remind one of the courtyards in front of the sanctuaries in Soli, Vouni, and Paphos. The temple *cella* is usually placed at the rear of the court and opposite the entrance to it. The symmetry, as a rule, is well marked and the sanctuary is closely connected to the court. But none of these Nabataean monuments are earlier than the first century B. C. This temple type, however, characterized by the large rectangular courtyard in front of the *cella*, must have been represented in Syria in earlier periods, though it never has been met with in modern excavations, as far as can be judged by the material at present known.

On the coins of Byblos<sup>74</sup> a temple construction is pictured, apparently the main sanctuary of the city. We see to the right, a square courtyard with peristyle porticos around the insides of the walls. In the middle, there is a kind of altar with a high *betyl*. To the left, connected with one side of the court is a construction, the plan of which seems to be nearly square. The arrangement resembles the Nabataean temples with large peristyle court, as we have seen it, for instance in Sur. We thus find that the old Mediterranean temple type described above can also be traced in the Phoenician region of Syria but in a very modified form. The tripartite division is not so pronounced, or is even abandoned, but, otherwise, the general outline of the plan is very similar to what we know of the Paphos sanctuary in Cyprus. The same modifications, on the other hand, are also noted in Cyprus as regards Archaic temples which is demonstrated by the excavations at Vouni.

The famous sanctuary of Byblos must have been of importance for the Phoenician temple type. Unfortunately the comparative material from Syria is very scanty. We know from the Bible that the famous temple at Jerusalem was constructed by architects imported to Palestine from Phoenician Syria, and the temple at Jerusalem consisted of a closed building in connexion with open courtyards, the whole surrounded by a large courtyard<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, II A, p. 386.

<sup>72</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, II A, p. 442.

<sup>73</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, II A, p. 429; Cf. Oelman, *Persische Tempel*, in *Jahrbuch*, 1921, p. 275.

<sup>74</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art* III, Fig. 19.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art* IV, p. 243 ff.

It is interesting that the tripartite temple type with a large peristyle court is represented in quite another part of the Mediterranean, which had been under Phoenician influence during centuries. In Tunisia several temples of a peculiar form are found which must be connected with the type we have traced in the east. The temple of Saturn at Dougga may be mentioned as one of the most characteristic<sup>76</sup>. Here the sanctuary proper consists of three rooms of equal size and shape placed side by side. Each is provided with an apse and an altar. The rooms open on to a courtyard by means of distyle porches, and the court is surrounded by peristyle porticos on three sides. The entrance to the court is placed on the main axis opposite the three cult-rooms, and consists of a vestibule occupying the whole width of the court. The whole construction is characterized by strict axiality and symmetry.

In the un-identified temple at Henchir-Khima<sup>77</sup> the conditions are similar though here, the central chamber is marked by its larger size and a small pronaos with distyle porch. The court in front of the temple is almost square in shape. As it was altered and rebuilt as a church at a later period, one cannot make any certain conclusions as to its details. At Sidi-Medien, a temple of peculiar shape was partly uncovered<sup>78</sup>. The *cella* is here of rectangular shape and projects into the wider pronaos so that a kind of angular rooms are left on either side. In front of this building is a courtyard.

The temple at Bulla Regia must also be mentioned in this connexion. This is chiefly known from the famous, large terracotta sculptures found within the sanctuary<sup>79</sup>. The temple is of the same type as the Saturn temple at Dougga though the local conditions have caused some irregularities. A single *cella* with distyle entrance is situated symmetrically on the short side of a peristyle court. At the side of the *cella* are irregular rooms with entrances directly on to the courtyard. Most likely these Tunisian temples which are all of a comparatively late date, belong to a type which goes back to old Phoenician prototypes, both in Syrian Phoenicia and in the colonies in North Africa.

Now it can be argued that the Cypriote temples of Paphos and Vouni might originate in Phoenicia in the same way. There are no Cypriote examples which can be dated to any period, prior to the beginning of the Phoenician influence in the island. The English excavators of the Paphos temple have also made an attempt to identify the excavated portions of the construction with a Phoenician temple, and they have compared the ruins with the picture on the Byblos coins<sup>80</sup>. This attempt must be considered very unsuccessful, and obviously the strange deduction was influenced by earlier attempts to reconstruct the temple, and in fact by the nineteenth century romantic fondness for the Phoenicians and their art. Already Engel,<sup>81</sup> in his large study on the Aphrodite cult, could show that practically nothing of the Paphos cult should be explained as Phoenician, and Blinkenberg<sup>82</sup> has definitely confirmed

<sup>76</sup> Cagnat, R.-Gauckler, P., *Les monuments historiques de la Tunisie*, I, Paris 1898, p. 82, Pls. XXV—XXVII.

<sup>77</sup> Cagnat-Gauckler, *op. cit.*, p. 121, Pl. XXXV.

<sup>78</sup> Cagnat-Gauckler, *op. cit.*, p. 137, Pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>79</sup> Merlin, A., *Le temple d'Apollon à Bulla Regia*, in Notes et documents publiés par la direction des Antiquités et Arts.

<sup>80</sup> J. H. S. IX, 1889, p. 201, 206, 214.

<sup>81</sup> Engel, *Kypros II, Der Kult der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1841.

<sup>82</sup> Blinkenberg, *Le temple de Paphos*, Copenhagen 1924, p. 21 ff.

this view. The ruling dynasty was of Greek origin, as the names show, and the cult at Paphos can be connected with Minoan-Mycenaean cults but not with Phoenicia. Besides, the temple of Paphos, as we know it from the coin pictures and elsewhere, display a definite variance from the Phoenician temples, as we can reconstruct them. The tripartite sanctuary with raised central *cella* is met with in the Minoan-Mycenaean art, but it is not a peculiar characteristic of the monuments of Syria and Palestine, where the sanctuaries show many varieties due to local conditions, though none can certainly be said to have the typical raised central *cella*.

It cannot be ascertained definitely whether the Etruscan temples are connected with the temple type described above. As there are very good reasons, however, for the opinion that the Etruscans emigrated from the east it is natural to suppose a direct relation between the Etruscan temples and the architecture of the east. This question of the relations between Cyprus and Etruria will thoroughly be taken up to discussion in the 4th volume of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, and therefore, it may be sufficient here to point out that the Etruscan temples as we know them from various monuments and the description of Vitruvius (IV, 7, 9) display many traits common with the temples we have traced in eastern Mediterranean<sup>83</sup>: the symmetrical arrangement, the three *cellae* side by side the central of which is larger, and all placed against a straight rear wall. Furthermore, the proportions of the Etruscan temples are, as a rule, square which, as we have seen is a feature characteristic of the Palestinian constructions, and which we also have met with in the Athena temple of Vouni. Each *cella*, consequently, is very narrow-fronted. — Sometimes the temples had no lateral *cellae* and we thus have similar varieties among the Etruscan temples as in the east. The *podium* and the hypostyle porch in front of the temple seem not to have had any direct parallels in the east, at least not as far as the available material admits an ascertainment.

Summing up the results of the previous discussion, we find that there are two essential types of temples which can be taken into consideration when tracing the origin of the temples here concerned. 1. The Mediterranean type with slight differences in the Minoan-Mycenaean and the Palestine regions. 2. The Babylonian type located essentially in the east. These two original types were subsequently modified and, especially in the regions between the centres, a hybrid type developed consisting of elements from both the original types. This development also takes place through influence of other kinds of architecture, particularly the secular palace architecture, and also the hypostyle constructions of sacred nature which are located to approximately the same region as the Mediterranean type.

One of the clearest processes of development recognized in the continuous series of temples at Soli, was the gradual roofing-in of the courtyard by means of porticos all round. This kind of peristyle courtyard is very typical of the Phoenician and some of the Nabataean temples. Neither of the original types of the temples is distinguished by columns or porticos along the sides of the court. Columns are in fact very rare in Mesopotamian architecture as

<sup>83</sup> Cf. provisionally Gjerstad's study on the Anatolian and the Etruscan sculpture, in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm 1933, II, p. 51. The reconstruction of the Etruscan temples in accordance with Vitruvius is made by Wiegand, Th., *Le temple étrusque d'après Vitruve*, in *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Munich 1912.

also in prehistoric Palestinian constructions. The porticos are a definitely western feature. We find them as well in the Minoan palaces of Crete as in the Mycenaean castles of the mainland. The peristyle court in fact seems to be an essential portion of all Mycenaean monumental architecture. Even in the palace of Nippur, we find the peristyle court. Though not definitely dated, this palace, as Fisher<sup>84</sup> and Gjerstad<sup>85</sup> have pointed out, very likely must date from the Mycenaean period. In the large Hittite palaces at Boghazkeui the portico is represented, but in a very primitive shape<sup>86</sup>. In the Vouni palace, and in the Greek peristyle houses, however, the peristyle occurs as the most central part of the building, around which the rooms are grouped and it is also found in the later Islamic houses.

Gjerstad, in his important study of the Vouni palace<sup>87</sup>, has connected the Etruscan atrium house in Italy with the oriental house, and this question must here be discussed as the Etruscan house also has affinities common with the temples in Soli.

Vitruvius<sup>88</sup> distinguishes five kinds of atria. Among these, two groups are noted which, on constructive grounds, must be regarded as having different origins: 1. *Atrium Tuscanicum* with the roof sloping inwards to the rectangular opening in the middle, the compluvium. 2. *Atrium displuviatum*, with the roof sloping from the central opening outwards. In the former case the rain-water is lead into the house through the compluvium to the impluvium; in the latter case the water runs off the house to the sides. For the many different theories as to the origin of these types reference is given to Gjerstad's article<sup>89</sup>. We may here leave the *atrium displuviatum* as having nothing to do with the question concerned here. Unfortunately, there are no early specimens of the *atrium Tuscanicum* found, and the type has curiously enough never been traced in Etruria itself. Its name, however, indicates that at the time of Vitruvius, it was supposed to originate in Etruria. The earliest and best preserved examples are found in Pompeii. We may pick out the house of Sallust and analyse its various parts. We note a well expressed striving for axiality and symmetry in the whole plan. The entrance is situated on the main axis; opposite the entrance is the large *tablinum* and the two side-chambers of smaller size. In front of this block of rooms, at the rear, is a wide space: in the middle, a portion of the atrium; at the sides, the wings (*alae*). The whole plan has a striking resemblance with Temple E in Soli: the axiality, the symmetry, the proportions of the various parts. The *tablinum* and the side-rooms correspond to the three *cellae*, the *alae* to the pronaos (Room XXXIII); the atrium with the courtyard and even the entrance between two rooms will find a kind of correspondence to the staircase between the towers. This likeness is not accidental as will be seen on the following pages.

Gjerstad argues that the *atrium Tuscanicum* is of oriental origin and that the house type was brought to Italy with the Etruscans from the east. Curiously enough this view has never

<sup>84</sup> Fischer, in A. J. A. 1904, p. 403.

<sup>85</sup> Gjerstad, in *Corolla Arch.*, Lund 1932, p. 170, has pointed out that the palace at Nippur should be connected directly with the Mycenaean palaces of the Mediterranean region.

<sup>86</sup> Puchstein, O., *Boghasköi, die Bauwerke*, Leipzig 1912, Pls. 33, 42, 44, 46.

<sup>87</sup> Gjerstad, *The palace of Vouni*, in *Corolla Arch.*, Lund 1932, p. 145.

<sup>88</sup> Vitruv., *De arch.* VI, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Gjerstad, *op. cit.* p. 162.



been advanced before in scientific literature though many of the most characteristic affinities of the Etruscan house type can be recognized as typical of oriental architecture. Gjerstad starts his examination with the *tablinum* and connects this with the oriental *liwan*<sup>90</sup>. He points out that the *liwan* is found not only in modern oriental architecture, but that it can be found in a great number of monuments from the prehistoric periods onwards. The tripartite complex consisting of *tablinum* and side-chambers must be connected with the Etruscan temple which, as we have seen, has prototypes in the east. With the examples mentioned by Gjerstad, everybody should agree that the whole complex at the rear of the atrium, composed of the three rooms opening on to the portico with the *alae*, corresponds very well to the oriental *liwan* arrangement.

But Gjerstad goes further. He argues that the atrium also has developed from a court which was originally open, but was subsequently covered in by means of porticos all round the sides, so that only the centre remained in the shape of the *compluvium*. This is a much debated chapter in the discussion of the Etruscan house. Riegl already, has advanced the theory that an originally open court can be transformed into a closed room by means of roofing the court with porticos.<sup>91</sup> Fiechter<sup>92</sup>, Lange<sup>93</sup>, and Oelmann<sup>94</sup> reject the possibility of such a development. According to them, the *atrium Tuscanicum* is a secondary development of the *atrium displuviatum*.

In this discussion, the development in the Soli temples may offer a final proof. Above, we have shown how the roofing-in of the courtyard gradually takes place, and especially Temple E may here be noted, as the proportions of the construction are very similar to the atrium houses of which we know. Vitruvius gives the normal measurements<sup>95</sup>. The *compluvium* should not be wider than one-third and not narrower than one-quarter of the width of the atrium. In Temple E, the whole width of the courtyard is 12.0 m. and the central, uncovered part was no wider than about 4.5 m. The proportions between *atrium* and *compluvium* in the Italian atrium house are thus almost the same as the proportions between the courtyard and the opening in the middle in Temple E. Even the size of the courtyard of the Soli temple is very much the same as the atrium, and it is easy to see that in its last phase the courtyard has entirely had the character of a room.

In the foregoing we have tried to show that the transformation of an open court to a closed room, like the *atrium Tuscanicum*, is not only possible in theory but that the whole development actually has taken place in the Soli temple where we are able to follow the various stages of development; it may be — as we must remember — at a very late period. Now we have to consider what kind of connexion may have existed between domestic houses and the temples of similar shape. The way in which the open court is transformed into an atrium-like peristyle, and the proportions of the whole building seem to me to indicate the

<sup>90</sup> Oelman, F., *Hilani und Liwanhaus*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1922.

<sup>91</sup> Riegl, A., *Zur Entstehung d. christl. Basilika*, in *Jarb. d. Zent. Komm.*, Neue Folge I, Wien 1903, p. 205.

<sup>92</sup> Fiechter, E., *Das italische Atriumhaus*, in *Festgabe Hugo Blümner*, p. 210; cf. Pauly-Wiss., *Realenz.*, art. *Römisches Haus*.

<sup>93</sup> Lange, K., *Haus und Halle*, Leipzig 1885, p. 59 and 270.

<sup>94</sup> Oelman, *Haustypen in Bibrakte*, in *Germania* 1920, p. 505.

<sup>95</sup> Vitruv. *De arch.* VI, 3.

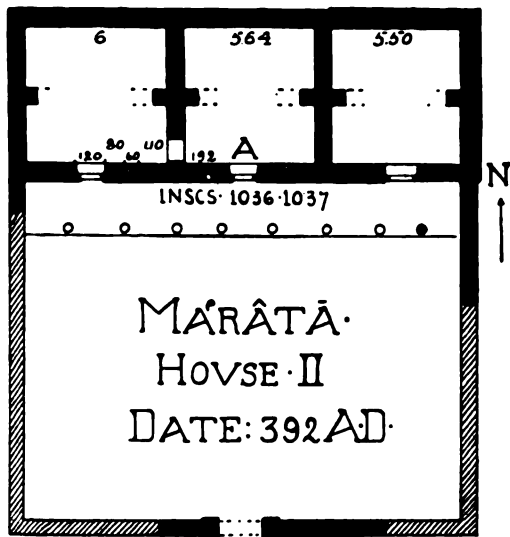


Fig. 85. Marata. Plan of a house.  
(After Butler).



Fig. 86. Hilleh. Plan of a house. (After Reuther).

nature of this connexion. The old form of temple, expressed in the previous temples on the site (Temples A—D), has evidently been modified. This may well have been caused by the influence of secular architecture. The *liwan* house had traditions in the east, as we have seen and so also had the peristyle court. The best examples of the Hellenistic peristyle houses are found in Delos and Pergamon, and very likely they have played a certain role also in the eastern architecture. The scheme of the Roman and the early Christian houses of north Syria must have developed from prototypes like those in Pergamon and Delos. This type of house which is entirely lacking in south Syria seems to be concentrated in an area which may be defined by the names of Serdjilla, Dar Kita and Marata<sup>96</sup>. Some of these houses display evident similarities to the scheme of the Soli temples. The house at Marata (Fig. 85) shows the ideal plan. An almost square courtyard is surrounded by a wall; at the rear of the court is a portico placed in front of three rooms which open on to the court. The same type is varied with two or more rooms placed side by side, but usually they open on to the courtyard and portico in front of them. The type survives in the modern oriental architecture where it is, as a rule, connected with the *liwan* arrangement. The houses at Hilleh and Bagdad published by Reuther<sup>97</sup>, display the same main characteristics as the Syrian houses. Opposite the entrance into the court, and facing it is the *liwan*, often provided with two side-chambers which all open on to the *tarma* or portico (Fig. 86).

There are also another kind of peristyle constructions, which in the foregoing have been omitted: the gymnasia and the palaestrae. We do not need to take up the question whether

<sup>96</sup> Butler, *Ancient Arch. in Syria II B*, Figs. 70, 85, 86, 88—90, 100—101, 139, 142, 153, 156.

<sup>97</sup> Reuther, O., *Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad und anderen Städten des Irak*, Berlin 1910. Certain medresses display a similar plan. In Konia in Asia Minor, there exists a group, dating from the 13th Cent. They are characterized by a *liwan* facing the entrance and a court in the middle, with porticos on three sides. On either side of the *liwan* are side rooms. Cf. Fig. 87, representing Sirtsheli Medresse in Konia, Sarre, F., *Reise in Kleinasien*.

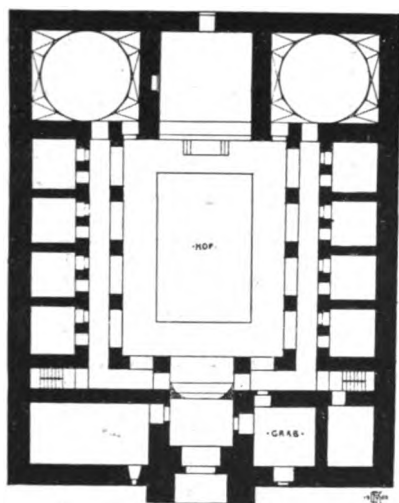


Fig. 87. Konia Sirtsheli medresse. (After Sarre).

these public buildings are Greek or if they originate in the east. As regards the building type, there is no difference between the oriental caravanserais and the Greek palaestrae. Both are characterized by a square court partly covered in by porticos around the sides, sometimes surrounded by rooms along one or more sides. In the west, there are no early specimens of this kind of architecture<sup>98</sup> which seems to have developed under influence of the domestic architecture discussed above. Early stages in the development of peristyle houses are found (about 500 B. C.) in the Vouni palace, unique in this early period; (200 B. C.) in Delos, in the wealthy houses only; somewhat later in Pergamon and finally in Pompeii<sup>99</sup>, whereas they seem not to have been traced in early Hellenistic time in Greece or Asia Minor.<sup>100</sup>

The public palaestra seems to have been of too large size to consider when determining the building types which may be connected directly with the temples of Soli, and the roofing-in of Temple E. The central opening of the court is always disproportionately large in comparison with the roofed in portico along the sides. But Dyggve, Poulsen, and Rhomaïos<sup>101</sup> have pointed out that there must have existed private palaestrae which were certainly much smaller than the public ones. Furthermore, the authors mentioned are able to show that these were not seldom used as heroa. Here again we are able to ascertain the close connexion between types of secular and sacred architecture. The heroon of Kalydon is in this respect extremely interesting (Fig. 88). The plan is almost exactly in accordance with other palaestra buildings, in spite of the different purposes they served. The excavators point out the close resemblance of the cult-room of the heroon and the transverse room placed in front of it with the apse and transept of certain early churches in Greece and Dalmatia. The base with the hero statue, behind the altar in the apse, resembles the arrangement in the Christian churches

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Gerkan, v., *Griechische Städteanlagen*, p. 94.

<sup>99</sup> *Antiquity* VII, 1933, p. 133.

<sup>100</sup> None of the early houses of Priene is provided with a peristyle court. Wiegand, *Priene*, Berlin 1904, p. 299; cf. Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien*, p. 660.

<sup>101</sup> Dyggve, E.,-Poulsen, F.,-Rhomaïos, K., *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, Copenhagen 1934, p. 409.

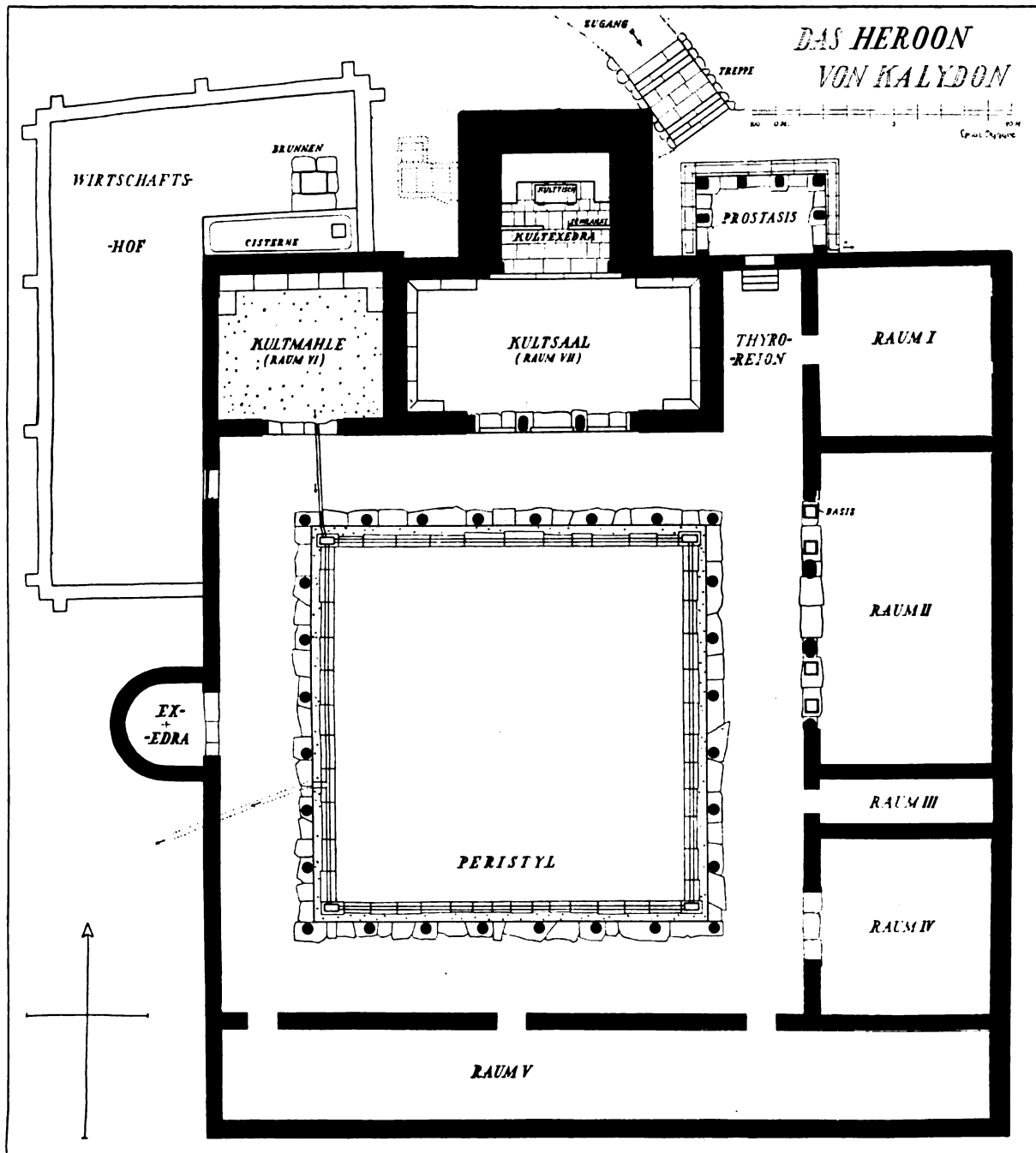


Fig. 88. Kalydon. Plan of the heroon. (After Dyggve, etc.).

with the altar and altar sculptures. Furthermore, the benches in the room in front of the cult room correspond to the benches on either side of the prolongation of the central nave in some of the early eastern churches.<sup>102</sup> That this resemblance also means a real genetic connexion between the heroon construction of the Kalydon type, and the Christian church, is clearly demonstrated by the recent excavations in Marusinac, close to Salona. There, Dyggve and Egger have excavated a Christian church which consists of apse and transept-arrangement corresponding exactly to the cult room and the pronaos of the heroon, and, instead of the long-house of the church, there is a rectangular peristyle court with mosaics, roofed-in on three sides with porticos. In both cases, the constructions are connected with the cult of the dead by means of the tomb below the cult room.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that buildings like the heroon of Kalydon and the architectural type it represents, have been of a great importance for the development of the earliest Christian basilicas especially as it developed in the west, in Rome and Italy, where the east end consists only of the apse with transept.

In Syria, however, this is, as a rule, tripartite and the churches usually have no transept. Butler in his last, posthumous work<sup>103</sup> distinguishes four types of buildings, belonging to the pagan period of Syria which played important roles in determining the forms of the early churches of the country. They are all to be found in southern Syria. As the pagan prototypes differ among themselves in form, it is natural that we find four different forms of Christian churches. In this discussion we may omit the three civil forms of antecedents and take up the fourth type which is the pagan, Nabataean temples already mentioned. Among them we distinguish various types: the Tychaion at is-Sanamen already described; the typological development of this court-temple, the temple at Slem which is of the same plan as the former but which is roofed-over entirely. Furthermore, we have the temples at Kanawat, the best preserved of which is the Zeus temple (Fig. 89). Here we have a plan which almost exactly corresponds to the Christian basilica; tripartite sanctuary, tripartite long-house divided into central nave and side aisles by means of rows of columns, like in the Christian church. The entrance was flanked by towers and provided with a large hypostyle porch. This temple was roofed-over like the churches. The second temple at Kanawat, the so called Seraya, is a prostyle building facing north. Its south end is composed of a wide apse between rectangular rooms. The apse is provided with semicircular niches. The pagan temples at Si, Sur, and Sahr are all of a different type; here the peristyle court dominates the plan. The sanctuary proper is of square shape, in Si and Sahr with the *hilani*-shaped porch. Butler, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, has demonstrated the role the peristyle courts of these temples played for the constructions like the Zeus temple at Kanawat, and the certain Christian basilicas of Syria. The type of these churches is thus fully developed in the pagan temples.

<sup>102</sup> Dyggve-Poulsen-Rhomaïos, *op. cit.*, p. 411. The question how these benches were used in the Pagan and Christian cults as the further explanation of the details of the temples in relation to the cult are all questions which will be discussed in the 4th volume of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*. For ancient literary records reference is given provisionally to the large article *Basilique*, in Leclercque—Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéol. Chrét.*

<sup>103</sup> Butler, H.-Smith, B., *Early churches in Syria*, Princeton 1929.



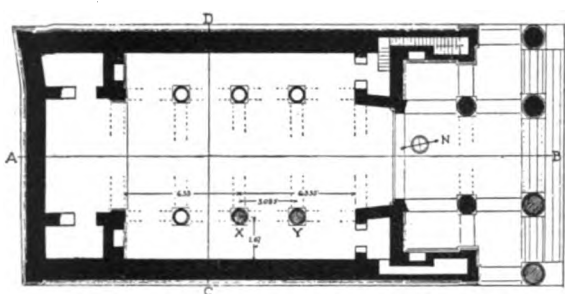


Fig. 89. Kanawat. Plan of Zeus temple.

(After Butler).

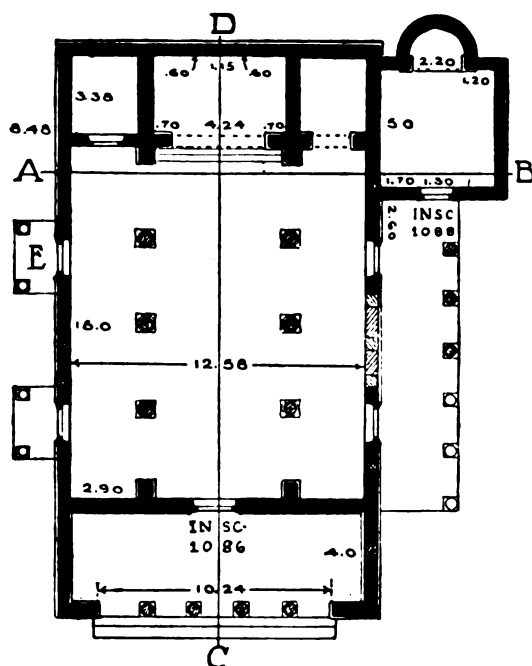


Fig. 90. Dar Kita. Plan of a basilica.

But the Nabataean temples offer no explanation for many of the elements of other Christian churches. The apse, the tripartite sanctuary, and long-house also the narthex and the exo-narthex are recognized<sup>104</sup>, but there is no sign of the transept. Apparently we must search for the origin of the transept elsewhere. Here we may return to the temples at Dura. The pronaos in the temple of Atargatis with the benches on either side of the middle axis are interesting in this connexion and here we certainly see much the same arrangement as in the heroon of Kalydon. Bellinger has also, in a short study<sup>105</sup>, pointed out other features which are alike in the temple of Atargatis and certain Syrian churches: the axiality, the similar use of the courtyard, the chambers at the side of the *cella* which may be compared with the *prothesis* and *diaconicum* of the Christian churches. In Dura, the chambers open on to the *cella*, and there are actually examples of this arrangement in Christian churches, though usually the *prothesis* and *diaconicum* open directly to the side aisles only.

As we see, there are no types of building in the pagan architecture which definitely correspond to the Christian basilica, and in which all its elements can be traced. The temples of Dura, though they existed and were used until the 3rd Cent. A. D., represent too early a stage in the development. The axiality is clearly expressed in the temple of Atargatis and the sanctuary proper corresponds fairly well to the east end of the Christian church, but the development of the roofing-in of the court has not yet started. On the other hand the Nabataean temples, must, in some way be connected with the development of the basilica, but

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Butler, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*.

<sup>105</sup> Bellinger, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* IV, Prague 1931, p. 173.

there are many characteristics of the churches which must originate in quite other types of architecture.

Now we return to the Soli temples in order to see in what way they are related to Christian architecture. Already from the beginning, we may leave Temples A—D out of the discussion as they constitute but stages in the development, fore-runners to the final type, Temple E. Furthermore, we may pass over the construction as it was built originally, and start the discussion with the temple as in the final shape. The reader has certainly long ago observed the remarkable likeness as regards the plans of Temple E, and the scheme of the Christian basilica. Were it not for the orientation, the pagan sculptures found in the *cellae*, and the altar and the offering pit in the court, the building could pass for a Christian church. The three *cellae* exactly correspond to the Christian *presbyterium*, *prothesis*, and *diaconicum*. The central *cella* has admittedly no apse but there are churches without apses (Fig. 90). The lateral *cellae* have doors in the same direction as the middle one, as is usually the case with the *prothesis* and *diaconicum* of the churches. Furthermore, the terrace in front of the *cellae*, somewhat elevated above the court, which, as we have seen, is a transformation of the upper court of the earlier temples, corresponds exactly to the transept. The benches on either side of the transept or terrace have their complete analogies as well in the temple of Atargatis in Dura as in the heroon of Kalydon, and we find them, as we have already seen, in many early Christian churches in the shape of benches on either side of the central axis in the transept. The people who had their seats on the benches in the temple of Soli were hidden from the court by means of the walls which were built along the ends of the terrace at the same time as the benches. Thus, there remained only the opening on to the central portion of the courtyard, connecting this with the *cellae* and transept. The supports for the roof of the courtyard are arranged exactly as the rows of columns, which separate the central nave from the aisles in the church. Finally, there remains the entrance, flanked by heavy towers. These, too, are paralleled in certain churches especially as they later on developed in north Syria. The most magnificent of the tower-basilicas in Syria, that at Turmanin, only is unfortunately preserved in de Vogüé's drawing<sup>106</sup>, but the arrangement, evidently, corresponds fairly well to the entrance of the Soli temple. Here, however, the ground plan of the towers is oblong in shape, and the towers project outside the width of the courtyard. We need not hesitate to trace the origin of the towers in the Soli temples, to Egypt. The Egyptian pylons, are here the most likely prototypes, especially as they developed in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, extending out over the width of the temple (Edfu, Philae, etc.). It is not surprising to find this Egyptian trait, when we remember that the temple was sacred to Egyptian gods.

The main difference between Temple E and the Christian basilicas, is not to be found in the plan, but in the superstructures of the buildings. Here the contrast between the roofed-over Christian basilica and the portico-court of the Soli temple is evident. This is certainly due to differences in the cult. The altar in the middle of the court was used for the pagan burnt-offerings which can be ascertained on account of the offering pit behind the altar in

<sup>106</sup> de Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, Paris 1866, p. 138, Pls. 130—136.

Temple E. The pit was filled with much charcoal and half burnt pine cones (Fig. 41). Under such conditions, the altar could not have been under a roof. Only the very spot just above the altar is left uncovered, whereas the sides where the place for the congregation was situated is covered. The Christian religion, in this respect differs from the pagan cults, as the offering in its old traditional form no longer existed. Consequently, there is no reason why, when needed, the whole court should not be used for the congregation, and therefore why it should not be covered-in with a roof. This view is certainly based on the presumption that the *presbyterium* is the essential part of the church and not the long-house. Oelman<sup>107</sup>, in contrast to Glück<sup>108</sup> considers the three *cellae* of the Nabataean temples to be primary, and imagines the possibility that the narrow hall of these temples has arisen out of the roofing-over of a small fore-court. He thinks, however, that there is a contradistinction in this respect as regards temples and churches, as in the churches, the long-house is the primary, whereas in its tripartite, eastern block he only sees "ein Anhängsel"<sup>109</sup>. As Butler has pointed out, the wholly roofed-in Nabataean temples, of the type of the Zeus temple in Kanawat, and the early Christian basilicas should be placed together in this respect. As we have seen, the tripartite sanctuary is the basis to which the court is connected. According to the examples from Vouni (temple of Athena) and Soli, it is clear that the temple and the courtyard could not be separated and considered alone as late as in the Christian period. Even in Archaic times, they occurred intimately bound together in accordance with the regular plan described above, and forming the basis for the development indicated.

In the discussion of the origin of the Christian basilica, the question of the characteristic, so called, basilican cross section with top light, has always played an important role. It must be remembered, however, that this kind of roof construction and lighting in large rooms had long been in use all over the orient, and was already known in Minoan Crete, in Egypt, for instance in the large hypostyle hall at Karnak from the 18th Dyn.; in Hittite Boghazkeui, and in Achæmenid Persia, etc. In a construction like Temple E, the raised middle *cella* in the tripartite shrine, may well have contributed to the choice of a roof combined with the basilical cross section. The raised middle *cella* had only to be continued over the central nave of the court as the characteristic section was indicated in the tripartition of the *cellae*. The method of roofing a courtyard like that in Temple E, would certainly never meet with any constructional difficulties. The question was only which kind of construction was the most practical. It should be emphasized here that it is not the top-light arrangement, frequently used in various kind of architecture since early times, that is the essential point in the elucidation of the origin of the basilica; the essential point is the plan of the church.

<sup>107</sup> Oelman, in *Germania* 1920, p. 230.

<sup>108</sup> Glück, H., *Der Breit- und Langhausbau in Syrien*, Heidelberg 1916, p. 30.

<sup>109</sup> Oelman, *Hilani und Lincanhaus*, in Bonn. Jahrb. 1922, p. 232. This view is contradicted by the fact that the long house sometimes is absent. In this respect the churches of Tur Abdin are remarkable, Bell, G., *The churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin*, in Berchem, M. v.-Strzygowski, J., *Amida*, 1910. These churches, e. g. the so called Mar Jacob are characterized by three rooms lying side by side, all opening on to a kind of narrow transept, which sometimes is double. Instead of the long house there is an open court. The plan thus corresponds fairly well to some of the temples mentioned above, and most likely the Babylonian temple architecture has contributed direct towards the development and retention of this peculiar church-type. The roofing in the choir and transept is barrel-vaulting, as is the custom of that country.

In late antiquity, Christianity was one of the many mystery religions which fought for its supremacy over the souls of men. We know that the various elements of these religions, in many respects are common to all<sup>110</sup>, and it is therefore, most natural to search for parallels to the early Christian churches among the mystery temples of other religions of the same time. But hitherto, we have had no really good examples of parallels between mystery temples and churches. In the temples of Soli, however, and especially Temple E, we have found a remarkable link in the relations between pagan and Christian sacred architecture; we have got on the track, so-to-speak of a long sought form of temple which, with its unambiguous signs of age and primitive elements, may be regarded as an important stage in the development of certain Christian churches. We have been able to trace these various elements back to very remote periods: the east end of the churches, to the simple or tripartite temples of the east Mediterranean region; the transept, to the pronaos of the temples, originally a small courtyard; the long house, to the gradually roofed over courtyard; the west towers of the churches to the typical Egyptian gates; and we have seen that the transformation of the pagan temples had only to be made in accordance with the cult of the other religion. With this view before us, we feel something of the sacred succession from the beginning of temple building to the modern churches of our day.

#### SCULPTURE

The close vicinity of the sites Vouni, Mersinaki, and Soli makes it probable that the series of sculptures found there should be considered as a continuous series of the same local school. Many of the sculptures from Vouni and Mersinaki must have been made by the same artist, or have originated in the same workshop. Some terracottas from Vouni and Mersinaki proved to have been made in the same mould. The series from both these places seem to begin almost contemporarily, but the Mersinaki series continues long after the Vouni series has ceased. On both sites the same development can be seen, characterized by a gradual degeneration of the Cypro-Achaic style in the beginning of the series. Practically all the stone sculptures which show this development are made in soft limestone<sup>1</sup> and they gradually became more and more plank-shaped. The pronounced Achaic smile which characterizes the beginning of the series, slowly fades till it disappears entirely. The various stages of this development are marked by Styles I—IV in Mersinaki<sup>2</sup> and Vouni<sup>3</sup>.

As a marked contrast to this development of degeneration, Style V displays quite other aims. Here, again the Greek naturalism is undeniable. The new style (Mersinaki, Style V) is entirely absent in Vouni, which shows, that it must be placed chronologically later than

<sup>110</sup> Wetter, G., *Det romerska världets religioner*, Stockholm 1918, p. 106 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The sculptures of the palace epoch, made in hard limestone are very few. The large capital (No. V. 290), found in the courtyard of the palace, is in hard limestone probably because it belongs to the architecture and was used to support the roof of the portico. As a mere exception, the life-size body of a nude, male statue in hard limestone may be quoted (Vouni sculpture No. 256).

<sup>2</sup> Westholm, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp. III, Mersinaki* (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> Gjerstad, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp. III, The palace of Vouni* (forthcoming).

the styles I—IV of Vouni and Mersinaki. The break in the development is marked also by a change of the material and the size of the sculptures. While sculptures of Styles I—IV with a few exceptions (cf. above) are made in soft limestone, Style V is entirely made of hard limestone as regards Mersinaki. The further development of this style can be followed in Styles VI and VII which are also entirely of hard limestone. The synchronology of the Mersinaki series and that from Soli begins with Style V. This is for stylistical reasons contemporary with Style I A in Soli. For similar reasons Styles VI and VII in Mersinaki are connected with Styles I B and II A respectively at Soli. So far the ground is firm as we have good evidence from two sites, giving a similar result. For the further development of the Soli series we are entirely dependent on the local conditions at Soli and the observations made during the excavation.

When the earliest sculptures were made for the temples at Cholades the break in the development between the styles in soft and hard limestone demonstrated above, had already taken place. As a survival of the past styles with plank-shaped sculptures, No. 336 is noted as an exception among the rest, at Soli. But it is necessary to ascribe the rest of the sculptures in soft limestone, found at Cholades, to a period contemporary with Styles I A and B of the Soli sculptures of hard limestone on account of stylistical reasons. Because, it is impossible to assign these sculptures to the old tradition of the plank-shaped sculptures. They are clearly influenced by the new styles in hard limestone. Thus, while at Mersinaki, the sculptures in soft limestone are entirely replaced by those of hard limestone, we find that at Soli the soft material was still used for sculpture in a subsequent period. This is, not surprising, however, as it is easy, as a rule in Cypriote art, to determine when a new style, or technique starts, but always very difficult to ascertain how long these traits continue to be repeated. Thus one cannot say how soon the plank-shaped type of sculptures are replaced definitely by the new type, or whether this happened contemporaneously all over the island. In the cities and big centres — as at Soli — the plank-shaped type was replaced comparatively soon but there are signs, indicating that the same type was still copied at other localities — as the rustic temple site of Ajia Irini — during the whole of the Cypro-Hellenistic period, practically without any stylistic change.<sup>4</sup> Through all periods of Cypriote history a similar conservatism is easily recognized as a typical characteristic of Cypriote mentality.

As regards the sculptures from the temple sites at Arsos<sup>5</sup> and Voni<sup>6</sup> they can all be classified together in accordance with the styles described above, but there is no difference in the material. The same kind of semi-soft, white limestone is used throughout all the periods. This holds good also for the sculptures from Athienou as far as can be judged from the photographs in the Cesnola catalogue.<sup>7</sup> The same is noted in connexion with a great many unpublished sculptures from various localities in eastern and central Cyprus where the same kind of local stone has been used from the Cypro-Archaic periods down into the Cypro-

<sup>4</sup> Gjerstad, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* II, *Ajia Irini*, p. 825.

<sup>5</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* III (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros* etc., p. 332.

<sup>7</sup> *Atlas of the Cesnola Collection*, Vol. I, New York 1884.



Hellenistic period.<sup>8</sup> The conditions in Paphos and Marion cannot yet be determined, as these districts have given but a scanty sculptured limestone material from Cypro-Hellenistic or later periods. The change from soft to hard limestone contemporary with the break of the old plank-shaped tradition can, therefore, be located only in the regions of Soli and Ajia Irini. These rather surprising circumstances may simply be explained by the great difficulty of making large sculptures in the extraordinary soft material quarried in that region; but on the other hand, it must be remembered that large sculptures in soft limestone actually were found at Vouni, and that at least one specimen was found at Mersinaki (No. 1070). This explanation is not sufficient. One should place the question of the change of material together with the problem whence the new style was influenced.

There can be no question, I think, that the sudden change in style was caused by political circumstances. Politically, Cyprus had been under Persian rule since 525 B. C. During this period the island on some occasions was in close contact with Greece and Greek civilization, but on the whole the island gradually separated from the Greek sphere of culture, especially after the reign of Euagoras. This gradual departure from Greek taste and aims can as well be followed both as regards sculpture, and pottery, as in the other branches of history of art. The gradual degeneration of the Cypriote plank-shaped sculptures during the periods which in Greece are marked by the schools of Phidias, Polycleites, Praxiteles, and Scopas is, *i. a.*, a result of this departure. During the first half of the fourth century, the art history developments of the two countries run along absolutely different lines. The presence of a very few exceptional pieces of sculpture, displaying more or less pure Greek features and belonging to this period does not change the matter.<sup>9</sup> It cannot be only chance that breaks this development of degeneration in Cyprus, contemporaneously with the incorporation of Cyprus into the new Ptolemaic realm at the end of the fourth century B. C. The Greek spirit for a second time inspired the Cypriote sculpture, but this active influence upon the island artists did not come from Greece directly, but from the Hellenistic workshops of Alexandria. And for more than a century onwards, Cypriote sculpture more or less closely followed the Alexandrine development. It is, therefore, but natural to find that the sculptural materials used by the Alexandrine artists are introduced in Cyprus. On making an investigation of the materials used in the Ptolemaic capital it will be seen that, apart from the marble, the principle material is the hard, so called Nummulitic limestone, the nature of which is very similar to the hard limestone of Soli (cf. p. 128). The styles which characterize the Alexandrine sculptures in Nummulitic limestone<sup>10</sup> could not possibly be transferred to the old soft limestone of the Soli-region. The new style deserved a new material, and the artists, therefore, had to find one which as closely as possible resembled the Egyptian, *i. e.* the hard, grey limestone. It has been pointed out (p. 17), that, on account

<sup>8</sup> Sculptures made of this kind of stone have been found at Achna, Achyritou, Larnaca, Petrophani, and many other places on the plain of Mesaorea. In the Carpass the stone varies considerably. Here it is coarser and more sandy to the effect that the surfaces of the sculptures only rarely are in good state of preservation.

<sup>9</sup> A fine head of this epoch was found by Dikaïos at Petrophani in 1933, now in Cyprus Museum.

<sup>10</sup> Such as the large female, seated statue in Musée Graeco-Romain in Alexandria. Schreiber, Th., *Kom-esch-Schukafa*, p. 273, Fig. 73; Reinach, S., *Répertoire* II, p. 516; Breccia, *Alexandrea*, p. 314.

of the personal relations which existed between the ruling families of Soli and Ptolemaic Egypt, Soli had already from the beginning, a very favoured position in comparison with other Cypriote cities. This close contact between Egypt and Soli may be one of the reasons why the hard limestone was introduced as sculptural material in Soli, but not, as far as can be seen, in the eastern parts of the island.

The introduction of marble as sculptural material in Cypriote glyptic also means a change from the previous conditions, because, there seems not to have existed a local tradition of marble sculpture, prior to the Ptolemaic period. It is true that marble sculptures are not unknown in Cyprus before that period but, judging by the preserved specimens, they are extremely rare and should mostly be considered as imported. As far as I know, the real Greek-Archaic period is not yet represented in Cyprus by marble sculptures of large size.<sup>11</sup> The fine head of a youth (Jahrbuch 1934, p. 98) showing great resemblance to the gable sculptures of Olympia, may be dated to the transitional period. The beginning of the 4th Cent. is represented by the small relief from Mersinaki representing Athena<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps it is significant that practically no marble sculptures as yet have been brought to light in Cyprus which can be dated to the early 4th Cent. B. C. This is only in accordance with the above mentioned artistic separation from Greece during this century. But certainly, further excavations, especially at Salamis and Kouklia, will reveal good Greek marble sculptures from this period. The city of Euagoras must have possessed quite a number of them. The appearance of marble in the beginning of the sculpture series from Soli, therefore, is worth notice. The lack of a local sculpture tradition in marble during the previous period makes the suggestion likely that the Soli marbles are imported, especially in consideration to the comparatively good technique which they are exponents of. This is confirmed by the fact, which already has been pointed out, that the marble sculptures were considered too precious to be thrown away when they broke. Most of them, even very small pieces, have been mended in ancient time, which indicates that Cypriote artists of this period were not acquainted with the special technique of working in marble, and that the existing marble sculptures may have been of foreign origin.

It is to be regretted that the alabaster sculptures and fragments of the same, found in Room V in Soli were so badly corroded. Evidently they were of good workmanship and their

<sup>11</sup> The remarkable fragment of a large kore statue in the Cyprus Museum has hitherto been considered as an Archaic original. It originates in Soli and was said to have been found close to the Kambos river not far from the shore. In 1927 it was removed from the village Galini to the Museum. On account of the following reasons I think this is Archaistic and that it should be assigned to a much later period (Pl. XXXI, 1—4): 1. The exceptionally large size, considerably more than life-size which is rare as regards female votary sculptures of the Archaic period. 2. The head was made separately and fitted into a very large depression in the body, the edge of which has been filed off. This treatment is unparalleled among Archaic sculptures. 3. The left fore-arm was evidently bent across the body but the hand was connected with the body not directly but by means of a square support, as in Roman sculpture. The fore-arm, is sculptured free from the body. 4. There are undeniable traces of a running drill. One of these traces is clearly to be seen below left arm (Pl. XXXI, 4) Cf. Casson, S., *The technique of early Greek sculpture*, Oxford 1933, p. 122—126. — Besides, the fact that no other Archaic marble sculptures of large size have been found in Cyprus indicates that we have to be very careful before we accept the early, Archaic date. Cf. Jahrbuch 1934, p. 99.

<sup>12</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* III, *Mersinaki*, No. 659. Dr. E. Kjellberg has kindly informed me of the date of the relief. He is of the opinion that the relief though generally of Attic style displays some provincial traits. It should not be dated earlier than 400 B. C.

exceptionally large size would have made them extremely interesting. Alabaster is rarely used as sculpture material in Cyprus, but as far as can be judged by the preserved specimens, they are all of a very poor workmanship. The Cyprus Museum contains an unpublished series of small upright statuettes most of them representing Aphrodite, nude or semi-nude. Their origin is uncertain and, as to their date, nothing can be ascertained, but that they should be ascribed to the Cypro-Hellenistic or a later period.

The terracotta statuettes of Tanagra type are made in moulds which certainly are of foreign origin as the same types are spread over practically the whole Hellenistic world. Types 1 and 2 (Pl. XXIV, 6, 7) represent moulds well known from earlier Cypriote periods. The types may originate elsewhere, but certainly the moulds later became characteristic of Cypriote terracotta art. The same may be the right explanation of the Tanagra types. They are here ascribed to Type 3 (Pl. XXIV, 8—12). These are made in a somewhat different technique (cf. above) which may indicate a new source of inspiration. As the moulds are spread over various countries one cannot determine whence they were originally imported to Cyprus. Alexandria may be suggested as this city had a highly developed terracotta art<sup>13</sup>, and in other kinds of sculpture, determined the Cypriote development during the Hellenistic period.

We now proceed to the stylistic features of the sculptures of Style I, and pick out the most characteristic of the heads, No. 425 (Pl. I). Though of smaller size, this head may be compared with one of the finest specimens of early Hellenistic art, viz., a female head found near Pompey's pillar in Alexandria and usually known as the head, No. 3908, in the Musée Graeco-Romain of Alexandria.<sup>14</sup> Picard thinks that the head represents Berenice I, the queen of Ptolemy Soter whom he married after 316 B. C.; and suggests that it was sculptured in connexion with her marriage with Soter or slightly later. However this might be, the head may well be considered as a good example of what the end of the 4th Cent. could produce in Alexandria. The Praxitelian influence is clear, though, as Picard has recognized, certain traits of eastern mixture are noted. Beside the wonderful Serapis head in the same Museum,<sup>15</sup> the head, No. 3908 indicates the very beginning of Alexandrine sculpture art. Beside the Soli head, No. 425, the resemblance is striking. The expression of the face is in both cases the same, and, which is more significant, this is obtained by means of similar technical treatment of the surface: the eyes look deep, but are in reality fairly shallow.<sup>16</sup> The drill might have been used, but there are no deep traces of it, however; the mouth is sculptured as a shallow, wavy line. There can be no doubt that the Soli head, No. 425, was made since the style, indicated by the Alexandrine head, No. 3908, was established in the Ptolemaic

<sup>13</sup> Weber, W., *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten* (Königl. Mus. zu Berlin), Berlin 1914; Kaufmann, C. M., *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, Leipzig 1915; Breccia, E., *Monuments de l'Égypte Graeco-Romaine* II:1, Bergamo 1930; II:2, 1934.

<sup>14</sup> Breccia, *Alexandria*, p. 177; Picard, C., *Tête féminine du Musée d'Alexandrie*, in *Monuments et Mémoires*, publié par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres XXVIII, Paris 1927, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Botti, *Catalogue du Musée Graeco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, 1900, No. 3463.

<sup>16</sup> According to my mind Picard's photograph gives the deep shade below the eyebrow to much exaggerated.

capital. Certainly the head from Soli does not reach as high artistically as the Alexandrine head, which must be placed as one of the most exquisite specimens of early Hellenistic art, but it indicates the further development of this early Alexandrine Style. If we search for other parallels or representatives of the same style we might perhaps define it still better and determine more exactly the chronological position of the heads in the series of Hellenistic sculpture. As regards the sculptures from Soli, the head, No. 532 (Pl. II, 1—2), though badly damaged displays similar stylistic features, as No. 425. The small head on Pl. XXXI, 5—6 was found by one of the labourers on the surface of the ground within the city area of Soli. The head, now in Cyprus Museum, is of white marble. The somewhat heavy eyebrows indicate that it should be placed chronologically earlier than No. 425, or more in accordance with the date of the Alexandrine head, No. 3908. In the collection of the Musée Graeco-Romain in Alexandria, there are several sculptures which should be mentioned in this connexion. Their stylistic resemblance with the head, No. 3908 makes an attribution of them to about the same period likely. In any case they represent the earliest style of Greek sculpture in the Ptolemaic city. Apart from the remarkable Serapis head, No. 3463, mentioned above, there is another male head in the same museum (Cat. No. 3241) which displays very similar features, and furthermore, two very much corroded heads representing Alexander, both from Abukir (Cat. Nos. 19118 and 23848). All these sculptures, actually found in Alexandria, determine fairly well the nature of the style of the early Alexandrine sculptural art. That this had some representatives in Cyprus, too, is shown by the head on Pl. XXXI, 5—6.

The further development of the style is marked by a series of heads which may with more or less certainty, be ascribed to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The style expressed by these sculptures comes near the Soli Style I A. Among the Alexandrine sculptures there is a small head which Breccia has described as an actual portrait of Philadelphus.<sup>17</sup> In any case it may be right to assign the head to the period of Philadelphus. In style it corresponds closely to the previously mentioned Soli head, No. 425: the same extremely soft treatment of all the details of the face while any kind of exaggeration is avoided. Another head of a similar style was recently found in Cyrene.<sup>18</sup> This, according to Guidi, also represents a portrait of Philadelphus. The same type of face which consequently should be that of Philadelphus is found on a small terracotta head in Dresden, but this seems me to be of a later style. As Guidi has pointed out, it is impossible to compare this small, rather carelessly made head with the fine heads from Alexandria and Cyrene. Some of the Aphrodite heads in the Alexandrine Museum may for stylistical reasons be ascribed to the same group or period. They display almost the same type of face, but show a great variety of the head-dress. The fine melon rolls of No. 425 from Soli are but rarely found on the Alexandrine heads. Usually the Alexandrine heads have the hair parted in the middle and gathered up into a knot on the nape of the neck, as Nos. 3263, 3276, 3280, and 3281. (Cf. also the Soli

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Watzinger, C., *Sieglin Exp.* II, Teil I b, 1927, p. 11; Breccia, *Alexandrea*, Figs. 85, 86; Cf. the similar head from Rhodes, possibly also representing Philadelphus, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Munich 1912, Pl. 118.

<sup>18</sup> Guidi, G., *Ritratto Ellenistico da Cirene*, in *Africa Italiana*, III, 1930, p. 95. Cf. below, p. 194.

heads of hard limestone (Nos. 413, 502, 518, and 519; Pls. X, 1, 4; XI, 1, 2.) Other heads have a purely Egyptian head-dress, as Nos. 3264,<sup>19</sup> 3265, and 3275. Probably the artist intended to make melon rolls on the fine head, No. 3262 in the catalogue.

There is a technical feature common to most of these marble heads which may be significant for the period of Philadelphus though it occurs during other periods, too: the heads have been completed by means of plaster or stucco. The back of the heads are usually lacking, but there is no fracture or sign of a piece broken off. The surface is often roughly levelled. Sometimes there is an iron peg put into the head, evidently for fixing the back, or there are traces of other arrangements for the same purpose.<sup>20</sup>

If we are able thus to distinguish a certain style which can be connected with the reign of Philadelphus, it may be right to try to find out whether the types of faces characterized by the sculptures agree with the portraits of the Ptolemaic kings and queens which are seen on the *obverse* of most of the Ptolemaic coins of that period. The aforementioned male portraits have been identified with Philadelphus, partly by means of comparisons with such coin pictures. The female head, No. 425, from Soli, could under such conditions be compared with the coin portraits of Arsinoë II. I have no intention of suggesting that this head should be an actual portrait of the queen as I am convinced that it is not; I wish only to show that the type might correspond fairly well with the pictures of Arsinoë II on the coins.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Breccia, *Monuments* I, 1926, Pl. XXXVIII, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Guidi, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Cf. Crawford, J. R., *Capita desecta in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I, 1915—1916, p. 103; *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Munich 1912, Pls. 142—143; Schreiber, Th., *Studien über das Bildnis Alexander d. Grossen*, p. 48.

<sup>21</sup> As to the identification of portraits one has to be very careful. Many of the portraits of European museums, supposed to be identified with emperors or queens of the antiquity may be nothing but portraits of men and women sculptured in the style which was created at the court. Under influence of the actual portraits of members of the royal family a special type of portrait developed which changed with the various royal subjects. Not only the various coiffures but also, to a certain degree, the type of the face and the expression in general followed the royal portraiture. Sometimes such a type of portrait was continued to be copied long after the death of the person in question, as has actually been done with Alexander the Great, Ptolemy Soter and others. But usually, then, the subsequent copies can be distinguished from the originals on account of stylistical and technical characteristics. Consequently, there must be weighty reasons for making such identifications. The way in which F. N. Pryce (*Catalogue of Cypriote and Etruscan Sculpture of the British Museum*, London 1931) has made the identifications of the Cypriote portraits of the Ptolemaic kings and queens seems me to be absurd. A couple of examples may be referred. Mr. Pryce seems never to doubt the possibility of identifying even the poorest specimens of Cypriote sculpture, and his peculiar knowledge makes the reader think that the author was a friend of all the members of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Because, he never hesitates, not only to date the so called portraits, easily recognized by him, within limits of just a few years or even to a certain year, but he also pretends to recognize the members of the royal family when "aged two or three years" (*op. cit.*, p. 66, C 164; cf. p. 76, C 189, C 190; p. 77, C 192; p. 78, C 193, etc.). When the author decides to identify the sculptures with Roman emperors he is a little more careful. C 197 (*op. cit.*, p. 79), supposed to represent Tiberius, is for good reasons provided with a ?. This is missing, however, on C 196 (*op. cit.*, p. 74), supposed to represent Augustus. Fortunately for the reader, both heads are pictured (*op. cit.*, Figs. 127 and 128). On p. 118, eleven most different female sculptures are simply stated to be portraits of Berenice I. They are arranged in a peculiar chronological order and dated to almost exact years from before 306 B. C. to 280—70 B. C. The reasons for this arrangement and for the datings remain a riddle to the surprised reader. Many another of the author's queer methods and explanations, e. g. the argumentation on p. 16—17, etc., will not be discussed here. Cf. *Rez.* in *Konst-historisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm 1932, p. 94. — It must be regretted that the fine, sculptural material from Cyprus, in the British Museum, has all through been treated in this way. The reader will, therefore, certainly, forgive us for, on the following pages, not paying attention to the many identifications, proposed by Pryce, even if they sometimes happen to be more or less likely.



If we pick out of the Philadelphus coins, those with good representations of the queen<sup>22</sup> the comparison is easily made. The resemblance of No. 425 (Pl. I) and the coin pictures is evident even if it not is sufficient for a determination of the marble head as a portrait of the queen. We note the same, somewhat rounded forehead; the long oval face, the long nose which ends with a small tip in a very characteristic way (this should be reconstructed on No. 425 on which the tip of the nose is broken). The chin is also characteristic: in profil it occurs on the coins as somewhat protruding but flattened, which may possibly indicate that the queen had a small dimple in the chin (cf. No. 425). The underside of the chin is not very sloping. The gently rounded eyebrow is also noted indicating a wide base of the nose. The eyes on the coin pictures give the impression of looking somewhat upwards, as on No. 425.

Pfuhl in a remarkable article in *Jahrbuch* 45, 1930, p. 44 has thoroughly made an attempt to identify the potentates of the various Hellenistic centres. His study is almost exclusively based on the coin pictures. The sculptural material for his investigation, however, does not always represent the same country as the coins. Often he compares the coin pictures with much later copies, on which the original stylistic features no more are recognizable and therefore it is impossible to state to which country the portraits should be referred. As regards the early Hellenistic period this does not matter so much, as the various styles of the different countries not yet had separated. But in the later Hellenistic period the styles certainly differentiated considerably. It may be possible to ascertain the likeness between a late copy of a portrait and the person portrayed but nothing can be said as to the original style on account of the copies. For the determination of the original styles I think the second class works many times can be more useful, as they not were copied to the same extend as the first class works.

As the queen on the coin pictures wears a veil which partly covers the hair, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the date of the head from the characteristic melon roll hair-dress. This occurs not only during the period in question, but can be found on female sculptures from the 4th Cent. to the end of the 1st Cent B. C. It was used, too, by all the Ptolemaic queens which is seen in the coins series. In later Roman time the same coiffure was used occasionally.

It may be impossible to ascertain whether this coiffure is a further development, or a revival of the female hair-dress which is characteristic of the Early Archaic period on oriental sculpture, well known from Cyprus<sup>23</sup> and other places, or if it appears independently in Greek sculpture during the 4th Cent. There is, however, an important variant in the combing of the hair. During the Archaic period the front-hair is combed forewards and usually the various "rolls" end with a neat little spiral curl so that the forehead is framed by these curls. During the Classic and Hellenistic periods, the hair is combed back from the forehead

<sup>22</sup> Some of the best pictures are collected in Svoronos, Pl. XXVIII, 1—26, Cf. the extremely fine series of coins in the Alexandrine Museum, Nos. 275—280; 428—434; Imhoof—Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Leipzig 1885, Pl. VIII, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Pryce, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, C. 263; This coiffure is characteristic of a certain group of female sculptures from Arsos, *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* III (forthcoming).

and the rolls join at the nape of the neck. Often, as on the Brunn head in Munich,<sup>24</sup> the back of the head is missing or restored, or the back of the coiffure is hidden by a veil, as on the statues from Herculaneum in Dresden.<sup>25</sup> One of the earliest examples of the melon roll coiffure is supposed to be the Aspasia herm in Sala delle Muse in the Vatican. This kind of coiffure, however, cannot be found as early as during the period of Aspasia. Lippold,<sup>26</sup> thinks the coiffure might be of Ionian origin and therefore should have been used by Aspasia. The possibility also remains, according to Lippold, that a portrait of Aspasia was made in a subsequent period, the 4th Cent. In any case the Aspasia-herm in the Vatican cannot be taken as a proof that the melon coiffure was used already in the 5th Cent.<sup>27</sup> Curtius ascribes the melon coiffure to the Ptolemaic Alexandrine sphere<sup>28</sup> and from this time onwards the coiffure is a rule on the Ptolemaic female coin pictures. In any case, the fact that the Egyptian queens used the melon coiffure must have made it popular, and consequently, we find this hair-dress on sculptures from various localities. As the coins show, it was used during the whole of the Hellenistic period in Alexandria, and many heads are actually found there.<sup>29</sup> In Cyrene it was introduced before the period of Ptolemy III<sup>30</sup>. In Greece it is known from many places, both in the mainland<sup>31</sup> and on the islands<sup>32</sup>.

The coiffure is characteristic of a large group of terracotta statuettes found all over the Hellenistic world<sup>33</sup>. In Italy many statues and heads with the same hair-dress have been found<sup>34</sup>. As far as can be judged by the coin pictures, the melon coiffure was not used by the Seleucids, though it must be admitted that female pictures on the Seleucid coins are rare<sup>35</sup>. In the west, specimens of the same have been found on sculptures from Tunis<sup>36</sup> and Spain<sup>37</sup>. As most of these sculptures are copies and comparatively late, it seems impossible to determine the various stages of the development of the coiffure, on account of the sculptural material. In this respect the coin series again must be the only certain guide.

As most of the small heads in Alexandria are not portraits but belong to sculptures representing Aphrodite in various attitudes, it is but natural that the melon roll coiffure is not the

<sup>24</sup> Furtwängler, *Beschreib. d. Glypt.*, Munich 1910, No. 210, p. 181; Wolters, P., *Führer durch die Glyptothek*, Munich 1928, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Herrmann, P., *Cat. Nos.* 326, 327.

<sup>26</sup> Lippold, G., *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, Berlin 1936, No. 523, p. 83, Pl. 14.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Anti, in *Africa Italiana*, I, 1927, p. 170.

<sup>28</sup> Curtius, L., *Ikonomographische Beiträge, etc.*, in *Röm. Mitt.* 1933, p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> *Sieglin Exp.* II, 3, Pl. XXXI; I A, Pl. VII.

<sup>30</sup> Anti, in *Africa Italiana*, I, 1927, p. 167; Cf. Robinson, E., *Brit. Mus. Cat., Greek coins of Cyrene*, London 1927, p. 75, Pls. XXIX, 11—18, XXX, 11.

<sup>31</sup> Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, IV, No. 1901, p. 43, Pl. 456; Sieveking, in *E. A.*, No. 1291—92 (1902).

<sup>32</sup> Br. Br. No. 558 (1903); *Jahreshefte*, XI 1908, Pls. III—IV; Köster, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Berlin 1926, Pl. LII.

<sup>33</sup> Pottier—Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, Paris 1888, II, Pls. II, 4, III, XXXIII, XXXV; Köster, *op. cit.*; Breccia, *Monuments* II:1 (1930), II:2 (1934).

<sup>34</sup> Munich, Glyptothek Cat. No. 210; Dresden, Cat. Nos. 326, 327, etc.

<sup>35</sup> On the coins with the double pictures of Demetrius I and Laodice (Poole, R., *Brit. Mus. Cat. The Seleucid kings of Syria*, London 1878, Pl. XV, 1, 2) the heads are placed so that the back of Laodice's head is covered, contrary to the Ptolemaic coins where the queen's head usually is placed in front of the king. On later Seleucid coins this system has changed (cf. Poole, *op. cit.* Pl. XXIII, 1—2).

<sup>36</sup> Delattre, *Musée Lavignerie* II, Paris 1899, p. 31, Pl. VII, 3—4.

<sup>37</sup> Arndt, in *E. A.* 66 (1893).

usual hair-dress (cf. above). No. 532 (Pl. II, 1, 2) from Soli corresponds better to the Alexandrine heads in this respect: the hair parted in the middle, partly hanging down on either side of the neck, as on the Demeter-Selene head in Alexandria.<sup>38</sup>

We now proceed to the investigation of the sculptures of Style I B of the Soli series. The stylistical variety in comparison with the sculptures of Style I A has already been demonstrated. The difference as to technique and style is paralleled by the change of the face-type. This is quite different on the sculptures of Style I B. We again pick out the most characteristic head of the group, No. 438 (Pls. III, IV), in order to compare it with some of the Alexandrine sculptures. The face of the Alexandrine head, No. 3263<sup>39</sup> is of almost exactly the same type and style as the Soli-head. The face is rather full, and the lines and details of the face are well defined. Especially this latter trait imparts to the sculptures a somewhat dry expression. This is characteristic, too, of a couple of small heads, which, as Breccia has suggested, should be portraits, of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice II, married to Ptolemy III Euergetes.<sup>40</sup> We might compare the type of all these heads with the coin pictures representing the queen of Ptolemy III. The face of Berenice is clearly distinguished from that of Arsinoe. Berenice<sup>41</sup> has a full face, oval in shape. The lines are clearly defined with straight, almost vertical forehead and straight, rather short nose. The mouth looks distinct, and the underside of the chin is very slanting. As to the coiffure and the head-dress, there is usually no difference between the coin pictures of Arsinoe II and Berenice II. This type of head corresponds very well to the group of heads mentioned above. In many respects the previous development of the extremely soft style which, as we have seen, is characteristic of the periods of Soter and Philadelphus is here broken: the distinct, delineating features of the face, the dry expression and the frequent traces of the drill are all traits which clearly separate this style from the previous one. To this comes the different type of faces, which is due most likely to the portrait of the queen herself, which the artists tried to copy.

There must be a reason for the appearance of all these new features in the development of Alexandrine sculpture. Perhaps are we right in seeking the explanation of this change, outside Alexandria so that it may be due to a foreign influence. The same features which we have described as characteristic of the Berenice sculptures of Alexandria are almost typical of the sculpture school of Cyrene just before and during the life-time of the queen. This is clearly shown by the wonderful portrait of her found in Cyrene by the Italians.<sup>42</sup> The brilliant examination of this head by Anti has definitely determined it as a portrait of Berenice, probably made before she left Cyrene to marry Ptolemy III Euergetes of Egypt. A glance at the head is sufficient to reveal the close relationship between the portrait men-

<sup>38</sup> Cat. No. 17838; Breccia, *Alexandrea*, Fig. 107, p. 206.

<sup>39</sup> Breccia, *Alexandrea*, p. 179.

<sup>40</sup> Cat. of Musée Graeco-Romain, Nos. 3466 and 3337; Breccia, *Alexandrea*, p. 178 and 181. Another head of dark granite, found at Canopus, is now in the Alexandrine museum (Cat. No. 18370). Breccia, *Monuments*, I, 1926, p. 60, Pl. XXVIII, 2 considers it to be a portrait of Berenice and he points out its resemblance with another small head of marble (Cat. No. 3264).

<sup>41</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXIX, 1—11; 17—18; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Pl. VIII, 6, 7.

<sup>42</sup> Ghislanzoni, E., in *Notiziario archeologico del Ministero delle colonie*, IV, 1927, p. 165; Anti, C., in *Africa Italiana*, I, 1927, p. 167, II, 1928, p. 219; *Die Antike*, V, 1928, p. 6.

tioned and the group of Alexandrine heads, compared with the coin pictures of Berenice. If the presumption is right that the Cyrene head was made before Berenice left her home, this may be considered as a test that the style in question had already developed in Cyrene. We, consequently, must draw the conclusion that the new style was brought to Alexandria by Berenice from her home in the western country.

The distinct modelling of the details of the face expressed in the portrait of Berenice from Cyrene<sup>43</sup> is found as a characteristic trait of earlier Cyrene sculpture. To a certain degree it is noticeable on the portrait of Philadelphus mentioned above<sup>44</sup>. If we compare the portrait of the Alexandrine museum<sup>45</sup> with the Cyrene head<sup>46</sup> we may be able to distinguish the difference in style. The Cyrene head is characterized by much more distinct outlines of the details, noticeable especially in the way of sculpturing the eyebrows and the eyelids. All the elements of the face are well defined though the resemblance with the Alexandrine head, otherwise is undeniable (cf. above). — It may be possible to trace these features back to still earlier sculptures of Cyrene, e. g. the relief from Benghazi<sup>47</sup> as well as some of the sculptures from the necropoleis<sup>48</sup> and the quadriga relief<sup>49</sup>. On these latter works the Doric character may be recognized, which is but natural in a Doric colony; and this may perhaps explain the origin of the style, and why the traits not are characteristic of the contemporary Alexandria<sup>50</sup>.

It is worth noting that the change of the style is distinguishable not only as regards the Soli sculptures of marble, which may have been imported from Alexandria, but the traces of the Alexandrine development can be seen also on the local sculptures of hard limestone in Soli. This indicates that the Berenice style was not restricted to the artists of the court only, but that it also spread to the minor cities with Greek elements. Stylistically the female heads from Soli, Nos. 517 and 522 (Pl. XIII, 4-6) belong to this group. As the heads of hard limestone are sculptured on the back, aswell, it is possible to distinguish the details of the head-dress. The melon rolls are more flattened than on No. 425 (Pl. I). The same coiffure may be more or less characteristic of all the female Ptolemaic portraits of this time. On the coin pictures of Berenice, the crown and the back of the head are usually hidden by a veil. However, on some of the coins from Sidon,<sup>51</sup> and Gaza or Iope<sup>52</sup> the coiffure is seen without it. Here a rounded vertical cap with ribbons hanging down on the neck are clearly distinguished. The same details are noted on Nos. 517 and 522 from Soli (Pl. XIII,

<sup>43</sup> Note especially the way of sculpturing the eyebrows and the lips, and the clear outlines of the eyelids.

<sup>44</sup> Guidi, G., *Ritratto ellenistico da Cirene*, in *Africa Italiana*, 1930, p. 95.

<sup>45</sup> *Africa Italiana*, 1930. Fig. 5.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, Fig. 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Africa Italiana*, 1927, p. 101.

<sup>48</sup> E. g., the fine relief representing Heracles and Alcestis.

<sup>49</sup> This was found in the agora of Cyrene.

<sup>50</sup> The nature of the sculpture style in other Egyptian cities during the first Ptolemaic period is unfortunately not possible to determine, as practically no datable material exists outside the region of Alexandria.

<sup>51</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXXI, 12—19.

<sup>52</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXXI, 22—28; cf. also the Cyrene coins, Robinson, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXIX, 11—18, XXX, 11.

4—6). The type of face of these heads also corresponds to that of Berenice. No. 521 (Pl. XIV, 3) from Soli has a somewhat different coiffure. Here, the long hair is gathered in from below on the nape of the neck. The coins with a corresponding coiffure belong to a slightly later period. It is clearly visible on coins with the representation of the queen Arsinoe III, married to Ptolemy IV Philopator.<sup>53</sup> The hair seems to be parted in the middle without melon rolls. Confer also some of the coins from the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes<sup>54</sup>. A similar hair-dress with masses of hair gathered in comparatively low on the nape of the neck is characteristic of the coin pictures of the famous Cleopatra<sup>55</sup>, but here, the hair is not gathered in from below like on the Arsinoe pictures and the Soli head, No. 521; besides there is a difference also in the melon rolls.

Among the Soli sculptures of Style I B the head representing Alexander the Great holds a unique position as being the only male head of the series (Pl. XIV, 1, 2). The head corresponds well with most of the coin pictures of Alexander<sup>56</sup> on which he is represented with masses of disordered hair falling down on either side. It seems to me to go back to the same type as the famous so called Azara herm of the Louvre.<sup>57</sup> This is supposed to be the Alexander type created by Lysippus. The herm in Louvre has a somewhat thinner face, more in accordance with the type of faces which in the foregoing has been regarded as characteristic of the Philadelphus epoch. The hair is shorter than on the Soli head. In Alexandria, a series of heads have been found which must be connected with this type, too. Schreiber<sup>58</sup> has connected all these heads with the activity of an Attic sculptor who should have worked in Alexandria before the end of the 4th Cent. One of the heads is now in British Museum<sup>59</sup>; the finest specimen, however, belongs to the Sieglin Collection in Stuttgart.<sup>60</sup> Others of the series have remained in Alexandria whence they all originate.<sup>61</sup> Of a more local Egyptian style are the head of granite<sup>62</sup>, and the limestone head in the Bissing Collection in Munich.<sup>63</sup> As regards the shape of the face and other features this latter is similar to the head from Soli. The lower part of the face is rather full, the hair is sculptured like a palmette above the forehead and falls down on either side like on the Alexander statue found at Cyrene.<sup>64</sup> The same kind of hair is noted on the head in Chatsworth House<sup>65</sup> and to a certain degree on the

<sup>53</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXXIX, 1—3. Cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.* Fig. 25, p. 39, with many references of literature.

<sup>54</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XLII, 1, 4.

<sup>55</sup> Svoronos, Pl. LXIII.

<sup>56</sup> Imhoof—Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Pl. I, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Cat. No. 436; Arnt-Br., Nos. 181, 182; Koepp, F., *Über das Bildnis Alexanders d. Gr.* in 52. Winckelmanns-programm, Berlin 1892, p. 8, 9; Schreiber, Th., *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders d. Gr.* in Abhandlungen d. königl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften, XXI, Leipzig 1903, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 45.

<sup>59</sup> Stark, *Zwei Alexanderköpfe d. Samml. Erbach und des Brit. Mus.*, Pl. III; Studniczka, F., *Zur Erinnerung an Th. Schreiber*, in Sächs. Abh., LXIV, 1912, p. 187.

<sup>60</sup> Sieglin Exp., II, 1 B, Pls. I—III.

<sup>61</sup> Breccia, *Alexandrea*, Fig. 22, p. 186.

<sup>62</sup> Schreiber, *op. cit.*, Pl. III.

<sup>63</sup> Schreiber, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV.

<sup>64</sup> This was found among other sculptures in the *frigidarium* of the large termes of Cyrene. *Revue Arch.*, 1916, p. 176; J. H. S., XLI, 1921, p. 237, Pl. XVII, 1; Cf. Poulsen, F., *Greek and Roman portraits in English Country houses*, Oxford 1923, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> J. H. S., 1901, Pl. 9, 10.



large head in Museo Capitolino.<sup>66</sup> No doubt, the Soli head should be connected with the Alexandrine heads mentioned above. The expression of the face which looks straight forward, the straight, almost vertical line on forehead and nose, the long hair framing the face are all traits characteristic of the heads actually found in Alexandria as well as of the Soli head. Stylistically the small marble heads of Alexandria may be assigned to a rather early period of the third century, and the head of the Sieglin collection even may belong to the fourth century, while the head of the Bissing Collection and the Soli head correspond to a type of face characteristic of a later part of the third century.

Among the sculptures of soft limestone from Soli, No. 314 (Pl. IX, 1—2) is outstanding both as regards the style as the large size. The coiffure has many parallels in the Alexandrine museum. Certainly the origin of this hair-dress must be traced to the old Egyptian coiffure known from many sculptures from the Saite and earlier periods. The same is also found on some of the Ptolemaic sculptures of the Egyptian style<sup>67</sup>. Breccia<sup>68</sup> suggests that one of these heads represents a portrait of some Ptolemaic queen as a goddess. A similar kind of head-dress though it is more common among the granite heads occurs also on heads of marble and white limestone.<sup>69</sup> As a rule these Alexandrine heads differ from the Soli head, No. 314, in that the curls do not continue all round the head; the forehead is left uncovered.<sup>70</sup> On some series of the Ptolemaic coins, we find a coiffure which, as far as can be seen, agrees with that of the Soli head. The coins seem usually to be connected with Cyrene. The earliest series dates from the reign of Philadelphus.<sup>71</sup> They bear on the *reverse* the head of Libya.<sup>72</sup> The same head occurs on the whole series of coins, both before and after the revolt of Magas. On these representations the corkscrew-curls extend all round the head even covering the forehead, as on No. 314 from Soli. The same type of Cyrene coins continues also during the reign of Philopator but here the corkscrew-curls are restricted to the temples and the back of the heads only.<sup>73</sup> A different type of corkscrew-curls is found on subsequent coin types.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Arndt-Br., Nos. 186—187; Ulfany, *Le type physique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Pl. III. An almost conventionalized symmetry in the curls above the forehead is characteristic of the head in Barracco Museum in Rome, Helbig, *La collection Barracco*, Pl. LVII; Arndt-Br., Nos. 477, 478; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, Pl. V; cf. Bieber, M., *Ein idealisiertes Porträt Alexanders des Grossen*, in *Jahrbuch* 40, p. 167, and the statue in Wilton House, Poulsen, F., *Greek and Roman portraits in English Country houses*, Oxford 1923, p. 37.

<sup>67</sup> Mogensen, M., *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La Collection Égyptienne*, Copenhagen 1930, Pl. XXIII; Cf. the statue in Athens, Springer—Michaelis, *Handbuch d. Kunstwiss.*, 1923, I, Fig. 124.

<sup>68</sup> Breccia, *Alexandria*, p. 180.

<sup>69</sup> Musée Graeco-Romain in Alexandria, Cat., Nos. 3275, 20075, 21992.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Edgar, *Cat. Gén. Musée du Caire, Greek sculpture*, p. 69, the Isis bust of plaster.

<sup>71</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXXIV.

<sup>72</sup> According to some scholars this head is supposed to represent Berenice, the mother of Magas, but Svoronos, IV, p. 130, is certainly right that the head is a personification of the Greek Libya, i. e. that part of Libya which was controlled by Cyrene. Cf. Pausanias, X, 15, 6. As regards the coin pictures this question has been definitely settled by Robinson, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Greek coins of Cyrenaica*, London 1927, p. CCXLVIII. As Furtwängler has shown, however, *Jahrbuch* 4, 1889, p. 83, the same hair-dress was characteristic of the goddess Isis too, and as the Soli head, No. 314, occurs with the crescent the identification of the head with Isis must be right.

<sup>73</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 15, 18, 19.

<sup>74</sup> Svoronos, Pl. XL, 10—12, 14, 15; Pl. XLVI, 23—25; Pl. LI, 10.

The coiffure occurs also on other coins than those connected with Alexandria<sup>75</sup> but they always vary in the details in a very significant way, and the type of the face is entirely different<sup>76</sup>.

The Libyan coiffure is seen on the much discussed bronze head in Naples<sup>77</sup>. According to Hekler the head represents a Hellenistic dynast. Furtwängler<sup>78</sup> and Bernoulli, however, have recognized the female character of the head. Lehmann-Hartleben<sup>79</sup> has explained the head as an ideal portrait of Thespis, and Pfuhl, on account of the similarity of the head with the later coins of Cleopatra Thea, recognizes the head as a portrait of that queen. The face of Cleopatra, however, should not be judged after the later coins where she appears together with her son Antiochus VIII. Evidently these pictures are very much idealized. The real face of the queen is seen on the earlier series where she is represented together with Alexander Balas.<sup>80</sup> The Naples head is not an idealized portrait; it shows rather the face of an elderly woman with puffy cheeks and a tired expression. Pfuhl's identification may therefore still be doubted, especially with regard to the fact that the coiffure, identical with the hair-dress on the Cyrene coins, displays considerable variations from that of the Seleucid coins mentioned. Thus, the curls are much shorter and thicker on the coins and, which is important, the long back-hair is plaited and wound around the crown on the coin pictures. The Naples head still finds its closest analogies in the pictures on the Cyrene coins of the 3rd Cent.

Pfuhl and Watzinger<sup>81</sup> argue that Ptolemaic queens are not likely to have been represented as Isis with Libyan hair-dress before the 2nd Cent. This was, on the contrary, most probably the case. Already from the beginning, the Ptolemaic queens identified themselves

<sup>75</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Pl. IV, 3; As has been pointed out before, the coiffure is significant for the Cyrene coins on which it occurs already before the Ptolemies (Robinson, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 24—28; Pl. XIX, 21—22). On this series the curls fall direct from the crown without any ornament. The coins from the Ptolemaic era have a head with a ribbon around the crown from which the spiral curls start (Robinson, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, 20—21, 28). This type was continued down into Roman periods with increasing length of the curls (Robinson, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXIX, 5—6, XLII, 6—7, XLVI, 14, XLIII, 6, 10). The Cyrene coins may go back on the Siculo-Punic coins with a similar hair-dress (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. CCXLIX). On the Seleucid coins the real Libyan coiffure is not met with before the period of Cleopatra Thea (125 B. C.) and on a later series where she is represented together with her son Antiochus VIII (125—121 B. C.) Cf. Poole, R., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek coins of Seleucid kings of Syria*, London 1878, Pl. XXIII, 1—2. In the east, the coiffure is very common. In Persia a similar coiffure is definitely male (Hill, F. G., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, London 1922, Pls. XXXI, XLIII, XLIV, 1—6). It is found on the Nabataean coins, too (Hill, *op. cit.*, Pls. I—II) and on the coins of Arabia (Hill, *op. cit.*, Pls. VIII—IX) where they always are of comparatively late date. The Characene coins (Hill, *op. cit.*, Pls. XLIII—XLVII, LIV—LV) belonging to the 1st centuries B. C. and A. D. show a very queer kind of hair-dress on the mail heads, which usually are bearded. The hair is like a wig or a thick curtain hanging down over the head. A colossal head of hard limestone is stored in the Cyprus Museum. It is said to have been found in the region of Salamis in Cyprus (Pl. XXXII, 4—5), and may represent a potentate with the same kind of coiffure. The head is sculptured in a style which is closely related to our Style II A, or Style VII of Mersinaki, which seems to correspond to the second century and the 1st half of the first century B. C. The face has a very stiff expression with a thin mouth. The head which may be compared with some of the earlier Characene coins (Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIII, 2) is hitherto unparalleled in Cypriote sculpture art and it is therefore extremely difficult to ascribe it with certainty to any period.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, E., *Ikongraphische Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der Hellenistischen Kunst*, in *Jahrbuch* 45, 1930, p. 44.

<sup>77</sup> Hekler, A., *Bildniskunst*, No. 74; Arndt-Br., Nos. 99—100.

<sup>78</sup> *Jahrbuch* 4, 1889, p. 84.

<sup>79</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* 40, 1925, p. 139.

<sup>80</sup> Delbrueck, R., *Antike Porträts*, p. 23.

<sup>81</sup> *Sieglin Exp.* II, 1 B, 1927, p. 21.

with goddesses in the same way as the kings, since Alexander, were worshipped as gods. The Libyan type of Isis might well have been introduced to Alexandria by Berenice II. During her period the Libya coins were used in Cyrene, and evidently, she, in her marriage to Ptolemy III Euergetes caused the close contact between Libya and Alexandria. This view is confirmed by the limestone head which recently was exhibited in the Musée Graeco-Romain of Alexandria.<sup>82</sup> This head can for good reasons be ascribed to the period of Berenice and is probably even a portrait of the queen as Isis with the uraeus crown. The head wears the Libyan hair-dress with its characteristic corkscrew-curls on the sides. The Soli head is certainly no portrait. The crescent above the crown determines it as Isis and the tragical expression of the eyes confirms this. The face corresponds to a more general type of Isis as Demeter. There is no reason to ascribe the head to a later period than the 3rd Cent.

The Cybele statue, No. 446 (Pl. IX, 6) belongs to a common type well represented in the museums of Alexandria and Nicosia. Cesnola found a similar statuette in Soli.<sup>83</sup> The type is represented also among the sculptures from Cyrene<sup>84</sup> as well as from many other sites of the Greek-Hellenistic world.<sup>85</sup> Though this type of Cybele, like the whole Cybele cult, certainly originates in Asia Minor, it may have arrived in Cyprus via Alexandria together with many other sculpture types.

The drapery of the female statuette, No. 419 (Pl. IX, 3, 7) is unusual. Unfortunately the head of the statuette is missing so that it is impossible to identify the sculpture definitely. The drapery over the breast reminds one of the fringed shawl which is characteristic of so many representations of Isis (cf. No. 427; Pl. XV, 4, 5). In any case the drapery seems to have been influenced by such representations of Isis, as Nos. 4780 and 11311 of the Alexandrine museum. The *aegis* of Athena might also have been present in the artist's mind.

The small head, No. 443 (Pl. IX, 4) is of a very common Cypriote type which is well paralleled among the Cypro-Hellenistic sculptures of Arsos and other places<sup>86</sup> where the same kind of coiffure and crown (*polos*) are common. Outside Cyprus, similar features are recognized on some terracotta statuettes of typical Alexandrine moulds.<sup>87</sup> Very likely the type originated in Cyprus whence it spread to Alexandria. It is interesting that a head similar to No. 443, of the same or slightly earlier date has been found in Alexandria (Cat. No. 3380). It must have been imported from Cyprus, as it is made of Cypriote limestone and displays a purely Cypriote sculpture technique. The head is broken off at the neck; nose and right eye are missing, and the straight mouth is provided with the small angular corners which are so characteristic of earlier Cypriote limestone sculptures. The hair and

<sup>82</sup> Cat. No. 21992; As far as I know this head still remains unpublished. Cf. also the marble head, Breccia, *Alexandria*, No. 3275, p. 181, Fig. 90, which is supposed to be a portrait of Berenice II.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. p. 22; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, etc., p. 229.

<sup>84</sup> Ghislanzoni, E., in *Notiziario Archeol.*, IV, 1927, p. 159, Fig. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Salis, *Die Göttermutter*, etc. in *Jahrbuch* 23, 1913, p. 1—26; *Ath. Mitt.* 1912, Pls. XI—XII; Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum von Athen*, Pl. 116; *Altortümer von Pergamon*, VII, Pl. XII, 45.

<sup>86</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, III (forthcoming).

<sup>87</sup> Schmidt, V., *De Graesk-Aeg. Terrakotter*, Copenhagen 1911, Pl. XLV, Fig. 125.

the crown are arranged as on No. 443 from Soli. This small head is interesting as it constitutes one of the very few examples of sculpture being exported from Cyprus to Egypt during the Hellenistic period, especially as it can be shown that the same type influenced the Alexandrine terracotta art.<sup>88</sup>

In the foregoing we have seen the close relationship between the Alexandrine and the Cypriote sculpture during the reign of the earlier Ptolemies. It has been possible to date the sculptures of these periods fairly well in accordance with portrait types of the Ptolemaic kings and queens as they are represented on coins. We have traced a certain development of the sculpture style about 300 B. C. in Alexandria and we have been able to demonstrate how this style changed during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice, probably under influence of the sculpture style in Cyrene, the home of Berenice. All this development of the sculptural art in the Ptolemaic capital is reflected in the series of sculptures from Soli. During the following periods, however, the close relationship between Alexandria and Soli cannot be demonstrated as before, partly because the marble sculptures are lacking in the Cypriote series. The sculptures ascribed to Style I A—B may all be dated to the 3rd or the very beginning of the 2nd Cent. B. C. As regards the dateable coiffures, the latest, on No. 521, can be connected with the period of Philopator, and it is probable that the close of Period 1 in Soli falls during his reign or somewhat later.

As there is a distinct difference between sculptures of Style I and Style II it is natural to suppose that the styles also are separated chronologically. The beginning of the new epoch is fairly well represented in Mersinaki (Style VII), but in Soli only one specimen was found, No. 328 (Pl. XV, 1—2). The extremely vigorous features and exaggerated details which characterize this style, indicate that it was influenced from elsewhere than the previous source of inspiration, as the style can hardly be explained as developed from the sculptures of the Berenice period. The new style has quite a number of representatives in Alexandria, too, which shows that it cannot only be considered as a local Cypriote type. Cyprus is still a part of the Alexandrine sphere of art within which, at least as far as the Greek influence is paramount, the various parts of the kingdom show a comparatively homogeneous development. In the descriptions of the temple site at Mersinaki<sup>89</sup> it has been argued that these traits of exaggeration are due to influence from the Pergamene sculpture schools. Of course at first glance, the poor pieces of sculpture representing this style seem to have nothing to do with the magnificent marbles of Pergamon. In the splendid development which the Greek-Hellenistic sculpture shows in Greece and Asia Minor during the 2nd Cent. B. C. the Ptolemaic sculpture, as far as can be seen, does not play any role. From this period onwards Egypt follows quite other lines, though the Pergamene

<sup>88</sup> During the Archaic period, Cyprus and Cypriote sculpture played a rather important role for the cities in the delta; cf. Flinders Petrie, *Naucratis*, London 1888, Pl. XIV; Edgar, *Cat. Gén. du musée du Caire, Greek sculpture*, Cairo 1903, p. 1, the alabaster sculptures, Nos. 27425—27428; cf. Jahrbuch 1892, p. 179; the earliest sculptures in Naucratis are of Cypriote origin, as Edgar, *op. cit.*, No. 27429.

<sup>89</sup> Westholm, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, III, *Mersinaki* (forthcoming). Cf. Reinach, A., *Les galates dans l'art alex.* in *Mon. Piot*, 1911.

development is faintly reflected. The Hellenistic style of Alexandria begins already during the 2nd Cent. B. C. to mix with elements of the native styles of sculpture. Thus the portraits of the members of the royal family are from now onwards often sculptured in the local Egyptian style, the material preferred being the Egyptian red granite or other stone except marble.

As regards Cyprus, the future development is also characterized by a separation from the great Hellenistic styles of Asia Minor. These are, admittedly, reflected in Cyprus, too, (Style VII of Mersinaki and Style II A of Soli) but only for a comparatively short period. Style II B might have been influenced by the later Pergamene styles<sup>90</sup> which are characterized by similar features as the Soli sculptures: plastic bodies but with the details more in the nature of design on the surface. But the peculiar style in Soli has otherwise such faint relations to the Hellenistic sculpture of Pergamon that one ought not to draw the parallels too far. In comparison with Style II A the following Style II B shows many traits characteristic of earlier, local Cypriote sculpture styles, and, I think, that the general character of the sculptures should be explained as local Cypriote. The delineating nature of curls and drapery, the strictly frontal attitude, the dry, almost geometric expression of the sculptures are all traits which are recognized as peculiar to earlier Cypriote sculptures during periods of isolation from foreign influence. The sculptures of this style can all be connected with the second building period in Soli, which, as has been shown previously, can be dated to the second half of the first century B. C. Supposing the sculptures were made contemporarily with the construction of the temples, they should represent the epoch of the Roman occupation of the island, in 58 B. C. This might help to explain the departure of the Cypriote sculpture from the Hellenistic styles of Asia Minor and Alexandria. Cyprus is cut off from the previous close relations with those centres. The new rulers of the island made Cyprus a part of the Roman province Cilicia and certainly the island artistically had also to follow the new political lines. This transitional period is also marked by a severe economic crisis after the terrible despoliation of Cato.<sup>91</sup> It is but natural that the artists in these days should rely upon the character of local Cypriote sculpture for the effect mentioned. The local nature of this style is expressed also iconographically, e. g. by a sculpture such as No. 427 (Pl. XV, 4, 5), which is unparalleled as an attitude of Isis. This is, apparently, a primitive illustration to the tragedy of Isis. She is kneeling on a piece of the column in which the coffin of Osiris was hidden and the method of indicating the grief of Isis is very different to the usual representations of the goddess, which all more or less correspond to the picture we get of her in the famous inscription from Ios,<sup>92</sup> and at Apulejus.<sup>93</sup> There are no emblems indicating her divine nature on the kneeling Isis from Soli. She is recognized only on account of her attitude and the drapery of her dress which is gathered in over her breast with folds hanging down like fringes. This representation of the goddess is interesting as it illustrates how the Greek spirit transformed the Egyptian re-

<sup>90</sup> Krahmer, G., in *Nachr. von d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Berlin 1926, p. 54 ff.

<sup>91</sup> For references of records in ancient literature, see Engel, *Kypros*, I, p. 439.

<sup>92</sup> C. I. G., XII, 5, 1. p. 217.

<sup>93</sup> *Metamorph.*, XI, 5.



presentations and reacted against the traditional Egyptian stereotype scheme. The Greek artist was more interested in the most dramatic moment of the myth contrary to the Egyptians, who disregarded the divine motions and actions when representing the gods. At Vouni, a small limestone statuette was found representing Isis seated on a throne with the winged Harpocrates child on her knee and with Osiris standing behind.<sup>94</sup> This statuette follows the traditional scheme of the Egyptian holy trinity, but in the details the group is purely Greek, displaying a technique very characteristic of minor Cypriote sculptures of the 5th Cent. B. C. In the sculpture from Soli this separation from the Egyptian motives is brought still further, even to the whole attitude of the goddess. Besides, that part of the story of Isis which takes place in Byblos, represented here, might not be of Egyptian origin. The journey of Isis to Byblos is related by Plutarch and might be an addition, influenced by the Greek myth of Demeter and her visit to Keleos in Eleusis.

A more divine type of Isis, however, is represented by No. 320 in Soli (Pls. XVI, XVII, 1). This might possibly constitute the head of No. 317 (Pl. XV, 3) though the two do not fit exactly. The frontality is noted here, as is the absolute symmetry of the face. Isis is recognized on account of the crescent which is noted also on No. 314 (Pl. IX, 1, 2). The crescent is typical of many statues of Isis during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>95</sup> No similar head is found among the sculptures from Alexandria, and the peculiar style of the head might be explained as a local variety of the Egyptian divine representations of Isis.

Among the rest of the sculptures of Style II B, the draped male statue, No. 534 (Pl. XVII, 4) is noted. We have met the same type among the sculptures of Style I B (Pl. XII, 1, 4) and in Mersinaki it is rather common. There the type varies as to the size of the sculptures. The large size of the same type is also found in Egypt.<sup>96</sup> Evidently all these statues are influenced by philosopher statues which became popular in Greece during the early third century B. C. Fortunately some of these can be fairly well dated to the period when the philosophers lived. The posthumous statue of Demosthenes was raised in Athens between 280 and 275. Metrodor died in 277, Hermarchos succeeded Epicurius in 270 etc.<sup>97</sup> From this epoch onwards the type is common. The Cypriote sculptures were certainly not philosopher portraits as often it can be ascertained that they were votaries but of the same formal type; the attitude was influenced by the Greek prototypes. As a rule, the Cypriote sculptures of this type display a conformity as to the attitude. The left arm holds the drapery of the tunic which hangs down from the shoulder while the right arm hangs to the side. Usually the statue rests on the left leg and has the right leg somewhat bent.

Among the various philosopher types which are preserved, the Cypriote series comes nearest to the statue in Delphi<sup>98</sup> which rests on the left leg with the right somewhat bent, and with the left hand holding the folds of the tunic which falls from the shoulder. The

<sup>94</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, III, Vouni No. 62 (forthcoming).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Roscher, W., *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Myth.*, II, p. 438.

<sup>96</sup> Edgar, *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire, Greek Sculpture*, p. 32, Pl. XIV; Breccia, *Monuments*, I, 1926, p. 61, Pl. XXIX, 4; Musée Graeco-Romain, Cat. No. 17842.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, in *Jahrbuch* 1930, p. 49 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, Pl. 58; Cf. the series of similar sculptures found at Cyrene, *Africa Italiana*, 1928, p. 21 ff.

similarity of the drapery on the Delphi statue and on the Cypriote sculptures is apparent. The Greek origin of the various types of the philosophers cannot be doubted. Evidently the formal type of these sculptures rapidly spread to the provinces where it seems to have been copied during a comparatively long period but in the form of votary sculptures.

The formal type of the siren, No. 301 (Pl. XXXI, 8) is well known from many Hellenistic and Roman sites.<sup>99</sup> In Alexandria it is represented both in limestone<sup>100</sup> and terracotta.<sup>101</sup> The most magnificent of all the Graeco-Egyptian sirens is the large statue with a lyre, in Cairo, which was found in the Serapeum of Sakkara.<sup>102</sup> But this type is not restricted to Egypt only, similar types are very common in Greece<sup>103</sup> and they are frequently reported from the regions of the Black Sea<sup>104</sup> and Asia Minor.<sup>105</sup> All these sirens are of the same general character. The attitude varies only as regards the position of the hands. Sometimes, as on the specimens from Shatby, right hand is pressed to the breast while the left arm is raised. On a couple of specimens from Hadra, this gesture is changed so that right arm is raised. The large marble statue in Cairo is unique as regards the way in which the body is turned. This gesture indicates that the siren is singing to the music of the lyre. Otherwise the gestures, as a rule, seem to express grief. The Soli siren tears her hair. On the specimens from Hadra, Ibrahimieh and Shatby this gesture is combined with that of beating the breast. The meaning and explanation of these gestures have been carefully dealt with by several authors (cf. above).

The stylistical difference between the two sphinxes found within the temple-site at Cholades (Nos. 536 and 302; Pls. XI, 5 and XVII, 5, 6) has been pointed out above. Iconographically the type of the sphinxes of which these are exponents, originates in Greek Archaic art. It is definitely different to the traditional Egyptian sphinxes. The latter preserved the same type since the Ancient Empire. The Egyptian sphinx has no wings; it keeps always the same traditional attitude, lying with the fore-paws in front of it and with the head looking straight forwards. During the Ptolemies, evidently under influence of the Greek sculpture style in Alexandria, this stereotyped attitude is sometimes changed. The head is often turned a trifle to one side and the fore-paws are not seldom placed one upon the other so that the sphinx looks like a large cat playing. In Alexandria there are many specimens of this kind.<sup>106</sup> Entirely different from this Egyptian type is the Ionian sphinx, which was represented in Cyprus already in the 6th century. Quite a number of these sphinxes are preserved and the sphinx seems to have been a very popular motive for the early Cypriote sculptors. Similar sphinxes are known from various sites in the Ionian

<sup>99</sup> For the significance of the sirens and their place in the history of religion, cf. Weicher, G., *Der Seelenvogel*, 1902; Cf. art. *Sirenen*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz*.

<sup>100</sup> Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo 1912, p. 25, Fig. 24.

<sup>101</sup> Breccia, *op. cit.*, Fig. 23, Pl. XXXIV, 39, 40, 41; Breccia, *Monuments*, II, 1930, Pl. U, 1 (No. 21872); *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 2, Pl. XXXIV, 41; Breccia, *Le Musée Graeco-Romain*, 1925—31, Bergamo 1931, Pl. XVI, 65.

<sup>102</sup> Edgar, *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire, Greek Sculpture*, p. 28, No. 27506; Wilcken, U., *Die griechischen Denkmäler am Dromos des Serapeums von Memphis*, in *Jahrbuch*, 32 (1917), p. 181.

<sup>103</sup> Brückner, A., *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 60—62, Figs. 34—36; *'Eg. äq'.*, 1911, p. 191—192.

<sup>104</sup> Stern, v. E., *Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Keramik*, Odessa 1910.

<sup>105</sup> Pottier-Reinach, *La nécropole de Myrina*, Paris 1888, p. 149, 389, Pl. XXVII, 5, 6; Cf. *Cesnola Coll.*, I, Pl. LVII, 368.

<sup>106</sup> Musée Graeco-Romain, *Cat. Nos.* 350, 3150, 3218, 23353. Cf. the terracottas, *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 2, Pl. LXXXVI, 2.

area and Greece. This type sits with straight fore-legs; the body and the back are usually somewhat curved and the tail is curved under the body and projects from the inside of the hind-leg. As a rule, the female breasts are well accentuated. Often, at least on the early sphinxes, the head is turned directly to one side. The long hair falls from the back of the head like a thick curtain while three ringlets hang down on either side of the face. On good specimens the body sometimes is decorated in various patterns. The wings constitute a very prominent part of the Ionian sphinx. They point upwards, the tips being somewhat curved. The whole type bears strong marks of the Archaic conventionalism. During the 5th century this type is slightly changed. The attitude of the body and the wings remains as before, while the head faces forwards. The conventionalism is still noted. Sphinxes of minor size become common. The same type is known all over the Greek world. Numerous finds from Cyprus indicate how much this type was copied there. It is possible that the change of attitude of the head was made under the influence of a certain type of lion which is found in Rhodes<sup>107</sup> and Cyprus.<sup>108</sup> The sphinxes found at Cholades (Nos. 536 and 302, Pls. XI, 5 and XVII, 5, 6) have both kept the type of the 5th century, though naturally they show stylistical differences which have been described above. No. 302 is not unparalleled in Cyprus. To about the same period, the sphinx from Oura in the Carpass can be dated. It is interesting that a specimen of these Greek-Cypriote sphinxes has been found in Alexandria (Cat. No. 3321), and it was probably imported from Cyprus. It is of white limestone, comparatively small and broad in the proportions.

It may be questioned whence this style obtained its most significant characteristics, the method of sculpturing hair and drapery with the extremely sharp ridges between the sharp grooves. Evidently there must have been a special kind of chisel for obtaining this effect. The trace of a very pointed chisel is seen on the front side of the base for the sphinx, No. 302 (Pl. XVII, 6). There, the chisel is used but not to make a deep furrow as when sculpturing hair and drapery, but to smooth off the base. The torso, No. 317 (Pl. XV, 3), and the rest of the sculptures displaying similar technique are interesting because the treatment of the surface is very similar to the technique of sculpturing some monuments of plaster in Musée Graeco-Romain in Alexandria.<sup>109</sup> The sharp contours are easily made in plaster and this material allows a much more detailed treatment of the surface. The result, however, is usually in the peculiar style mentioned. All the plaster sculptures of the museum of Alexandria display the same characteristics. Wood-carving has undoubtedly influenced stone sculpture, and particularly in the manner in which this art presents itself to us in Alexandria, for the wood-carvings were covered with a thick layer of hard stucco which was then given the secondary details by the sculptor. This technique occurs already in early Ptolemaic

<sup>107</sup> Blinkenberg, C., *Lindos, fouilles de l'acropole*, Berlin 1931, Nos. 1825—1839, Pls. 77, 78.

<sup>108</sup> In a tomb not far from modern Soli two large lions of this kind were discovered, in 1930. They stood in the dromos, on either side of the entrance. I had the opportunity to examine the pottery sherds in this tomb, which could all be dated to about 500 B. C. Cf. another fragment of a similar lion in *Cyprus department of antiquities, Report No. 2*, Nicosia 1935, Pl. VII, 1.

<sup>109</sup> Only a few examples need to be mentioned: the colossal Serapis head, Cat. No. 3917, the busts of Serapis, (Cat. No. 16160) and Isis (Cat. No. 16159) all in Musée Graeco-Romain in Alexandria. Another Alexandrine head (Cat. No. 18418) is published by Breccia, *Monuments*, I, 1926, p. 61, Pl. XXVIII, 1 and 4. A great number of minor plaster sculptures are pictured in *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 1 A, Pls. XXXIX—XLIV.

times. In fact, stucco has been widely used in all architectural decoration in Ptolemaic times. During the first two centuries of our era the same technique is used in a significant manner on the mummy sculptures from Fayum.<sup>110</sup> One brilliant example of real wood sculpture treated in this manner is the gigantic Serapis statue in the museum of Alexandria (Cat. No. 23352). This museum contains a whole series of sculptures either entirely of stucco or in which stucco forms an important part. Often the core is of roughly hewn limestone.<sup>111</sup> A feature common to all these sculptures detailed in stucco, is this sharp-ridged technique, which may, on good grounds, be considered as a result of the material itself. Unfortunately the many stucco sculptures in Alexandrine art have never been taken up for connected treatment but there are good reasons to believe that the whole of this art originates in the east.<sup>112</sup> In what way the sculptures of Style II B are dependent on the plaster sculptures of Egypt, cannot be ascertained. The two groups of sculpture concerned, however, display so many similarities in style and otherwise, that the possibility must not be disregarded that a genetic connexion really existed.

In style these sculptures of II B approach some of the sculptures found in the temple of Isis in Cyrene.<sup>113</sup> These are supposed to represent a peculiar local style. We note the same sharp-ridged curls and folds of drapery, the same clumsy bodies which are met with, for the first time in Cyrene sculpture but which have been recognized as features characteristic of Cypriote sculpture. The shapes of the bodies are undetailed; the particulars are more in the nature of a design on the surface of the body, as was this draped in a tunic with designed pattern. The similarity of the sculptures of Style II B in Soli and the sculptures from the temple of Isis in Cyrene is remarkable as the two series, evidently, are examples of various local schools. In Cyrene, it appears as a strange phenomenon among the collections of larger marble sculpture. The question arises whether the two series are independent of each other, or whether it can be demonstrated that the one is influenced by the other. As the Soli sculptures in a measure can be fitted into a local Cypriote development with roots in the earlier periods of sculpture, it must be supposed that Cyprus was the donor — in case of influence from one country to the other. As we know, however, that the Cyrene sculptures in question constituted a group of inferior work among the rest of the sculptures from the Libyan city, it cannot possibly be right to infer a direct influence from the local sculpture school of Cyprus to the artistically important Cyrene. Probably the sculpture of both cities should be considered as examples of an art connected with the mystery temples,

<sup>110</sup> Edgar, *Cat. Gén. des ant. Ég. du Musée du Caire, Graeco-Egyptian coffins, masks and portraits*, Cairo 1905, Pls. XXIX—XXX; Mogensen, M., *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Coll. Égypt.*, Copenhagen 1930, Pl. LXXVIII, A. 598, A. 600, A. 604; cf. the similar sculptures in the Berlin Museum, *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Fig. 90. The plastic mummy portraits which were more or less connected with the coffin but always in upright position were actually known and copied in Cyprus. The heads pictured in *Cesnola Coll.*, I, Pl. CXLV were placed on the coffins like the Egyptian portraits mentioned and fixed by means of nails. This arrangement has never been observed in scientific excavations but to treasure-seaking tomb-robbers in Cyprus it is a well known fact. Apart from the heads in the Cesnola collection a few others are kept in the store-rooms of the Cyprus Museum. A fairly good specimen is in the author's possession.

<sup>111</sup> This is the case with several of the sculptures from Abukir. Cf. also the reposing statue in Copenhagen, Mogensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. X.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Westholm, *Stylistical features of Coptic figure sculpture*, in *Acta Arch.* 1935, p. 236 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Ghislanzoni, E., in *Notiziario etc.*, IV, p. 175 ff.

an art which from now onwards was separated from the large general imperial style. In the east of the Roman empire, several local sculpture schools developed more or less independently of each other. As they all start from the same presumption, it is but natural that they in the beginning show certain common traits. This inferior *Schicht* of the art should later on be of a great importance for the early Christian art, as for all art connected with the syncretistic religions in the empire. The various nationalities slowly differentiated, but in the beginning they were based on late Hellenistic art. During the second century A. D. we can easily distinguish, apart from Cyprus and Cyrene mentioned above, the national character in Egypt, exemplified by the wonderful sculptured monuments in Kom-esh-Shogafa in Alexandria<sup>114</sup>.

In Palestine, the separatistic mentality is expressed already since the Maccabaeen revolt<sup>115</sup>. In Syria, various sculpture schools are located to the main centres, the most famous of which is Palmyra<sup>116</sup>, and recently the remarkable monuments of another centre in Djebel Drys have been published<sup>117</sup>, the sculptures of which undeniably display a continuous tradition from very remote periods in Syria. Take for instance a sculpture like Dunand, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII, 64, and compare it with some of the basalt sculptures excavated by Oppenheim in Tell Halaf.<sup>118</sup> Nobody could deny that the two are related and can be taken as exponents of the same racial mentality. In time they are separated by more than thousand years. Another local sculpture school has been demonstrated in Dura.<sup>119</sup> Certainly it is related to the other Syrian schools, especially with the Palmyrene, but its local character cannot be disputed. East of the Jordan, the Nabataean cities have yielded other local sculptures<sup>120</sup>, and further to the east the well known Partian<sup>121</sup>, Persian<sup>122</sup>, and Bactrian<sup>123</sup> centres were situated. In Asia Minor other local schools can be mentioned showing special characteristics. Some of the sculptures of these are kept in the museum of Istambul<sup>124</sup> others in the museum of Brussa.<sup>125</sup> It must be born in mind that all these crude specimens of sculpture during the Roman Empire epoch developed at the side, and more or less independently of the universal Empire style as this is expressed in the magnificent buildings in North Africa, Cyrene, Baalbek, Palmyra and Termessos, etc. This differentiation as regards the art, corresponds to the religious differentiation: at the side of the official Empire religion the various mystery religions

<sup>114</sup> Sieglin *Exp.*, I.

<sup>115</sup> *II Macc.*, 8.

<sup>116</sup> Inghold, H., *Studier over palmyrensk skulptur*, Copenhagen 1928; Seyrig, H., in *Antiquités Syriennes*, 17.

<sup>117</sup> Dunand, M., *Le musée de Soueida*, Paris 1934.

<sup>118</sup> Oppenheim, v. M., *Tell Halaf*, Berlin 1931, Fig. 45 b.

<sup>119</sup> Cumont, Fr., *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, Pls. LXXXIII—LXXXIV. Baur-Rostovtzeff-Bellinger, *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, New Haven 1932, Pls. XIV—XVII; Rostovtzeff, *Caravan cities*, Oxford 1932, Pls. XXXI, 2, XXXII.

<sup>120</sup> Butler, H., *Ancient architecture in Syria*, II A, Leyden 1919, Fig. 334; Rostovtzeff, *Caravan cities*, Pl. XXXI, 1.

<sup>121</sup> Andrae, W., *Hatra*, Berlin 1912, Pl. XXI.

<sup>122</sup> Sarre, F. v., *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910.

<sup>123</sup> Foucher, *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandara*, Paris 1905, 1918—22.

<sup>124</sup> Mendel, G., *Cat. des Sculpt.*, Const. I—II, 1912, see especially III, 1914, p. 39 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Mendel, G., in B. C. H. XXXIII, 1909, p. 245 ff.; Rodenwaldt, *Zeus Bronton*, in *Jahrbuch* 34, 1919, p. 77; Wulff, O., in *Ämlich. Ber. aus d. köngl. Kunsts.* XXXIX, 1918, p. 238; Cumont, Fr., *Études Syr.*, p. 48.



grew, some of them, like Christianity, in decided opposition against the official religion and the cult of the emperor. In this light the sculptures of Style II in Soli should be mentioned. Cyprus is only a link in a chain of national centres all round the empire, which developed in accordance with the racial presumptions and a previous local tradition of art, sometimes going back into very remote periods. If we consider this question less presumptively we see in the successive growth of the national styles, the natural and healthy reaction of the local artists against the Greek and Roman naturalism, which at least in the east had always been a foreign poison, and which in the centuries just prior to the birth of Christ, gradually threatened to kill the different local traditions of art. The process of the growth of the local schools in the borders of the empire can most clearly be studied before the period of Severus after which the emperor cult and the official religion slowly became mixed with mystery religions of the east. During the second century A. D. the local schools of the east arrived at a comparatively well defined stage of development, but at the same time the Roman art was not yet much influenced by the east.

The start of this reactive process may have taken place at various times in the different centres. It is without the scope of this work to follow the development outside Cyprus. Here the separation from the general Hellenistic styles, especially the Alexandrine one, already had begun with Style II A to a certain degree, but is very clearly noted in Style II B, or as has been noted above, during the later part of the first century B. C. This date seems to correspond fairly well with the same process in Alexandria and Cyrene. As regards the latter city, the sculptures from the Isis temple have been supposed to date from the first century A. D., and in Egypt the dissolution of the Hellenistic styles began as early as in the second century B. C.

Unfortunately the next development of the local Cypriote sculpture cannot be followed. From the two first centuries A. D. there exists practically no material illustrating the period up to Severus. Only a few marble sculptures have been found in the vicinity of Soli<sup>126</sup> and in Salamis. From the Claudian era, however, we have the Agrippina portrait found in Temple C, at Cholades, but this cannot be placed with the local series of hard limestone.

Among the female portraits with characteristic Claudian coiffure, the question of identification has always been very puzzling. The ladies of the imperial family represented on coins are as follows: Agrippina the elder and the younger, the sisters of Caligula, Drusilla and Livilla, Messalina, and her daughter Octavia, and finally Poppaea.<sup>127</sup> The task of making proper identifications from the coin pictures seems to be almost impossible. All the faces

<sup>126</sup> Cf. the archaistic statue mentioned above p. 187, Pl. XXXI, 1—4; furthermore a portrait of early empire time now in Cyprus Museum. To the marble statue of Aphrodite on Pl. XXXII, 3, found in Soli, since long time in the Cyprus Museum, the author was able to add some more material. In 1927 the lower part of a female marble statue, Pl. XXXI, 7, was reported to the author by a villager from Galini, who had it built into a wall of his house. Most likely the sculpture originates in Soli. No. 304, Pl. XXXII, 1—2, has been incorporated in the numbered series from Cholades, as it actually was said to have come from that place (cf. the object register on p. 99). Evidently the fragment belongs to a common Roman type.

<sup>127</sup> Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, Pls. XXXIII—XXXV.

are of a similar type and the different coins offer too small differences for a certain determination of the individual characteristics of the ladies in question. The same can be said of many of the preserved female portraits of the epoch. They resemble each other very much. Sometimes the spectator finds the resemblance of two heads in the eyes while the mouth or the nose show some differences or *vice versa*. In spite of these difficulties, authors seem to agree as to the general types of the two most magnificent representatives of the ladies depicted on the coins: Agrippina the elder, the wife of Germanicus and her daughter of the same name. This differentiation and division of the sculptures is certainly influenced by the historical records of the ladies in question, and the conclusions we can draw from them as to their mentality and psychical characteristics. Bernoulli, after a careful study, distinguishes only one or two heads of Agrippina the elder.<sup>128</sup> These are the head in Museo Capitolino<sup>129</sup>, and that in Munich which originally came from Rome<sup>130</sup>. Others are more or less similar to these but cannot definitely be attributed. Later authors have identified several of the heads with Agrippina the elder. Thus the portrait in Copenhagen<sup>131</sup> is supposed to represent Agrippina, as are the plasma head and the cameo both in British Museum.<sup>132</sup> Others are the heads in Museo Archeologico in Venice.<sup>133</sup> Mendel assigns a fragmentary head in Constantinople to Agrippina the elder<sup>134</sup> while the statue in the Lateran is supposed to represent Agrippina the younger.<sup>135</sup> This is very similar to the statue in Museo Chiaramonte<sup>136</sup> which, therefore, is also assigned to the younger group. Anti, in *Africa Italiana* II, 1928, p. 3, has tried another method than the stylistic comparisons when separating the portraits of the elder Agrippina from those of the younger. He distinguishes two kinds of portraits: 1. Portraits of a more human type, where the stress is laid upon the likeness even if the somewhat elderly features of Agrippina are distinguishable. These portraits, according to Anti, should have been made during her life-time, especially in connexion with her triumph together with Germanicus in 17 A. D., i. e. shortly before the catastrophe and murder of Germanicus in Syria. Agrippina was then 35 years of age. Anti points out that statues were raised in honour of Germanicus and Agrippina, which is shown by several bases with preserved inscriptions many of which were found along their route to the east<sup>137</sup>. This indicates their great popularity all over the Roman empire. — 2. The second type of Agrippina heads, according to Anti, would have been made after her death when she was

<sup>128</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246 ff., Pl. XV; cf. Stuart Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, p. 190, Pl. 47.

<sup>129</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, No. 7.

<sup>130</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, No. 51; Furtwängler, *Beschr. d. Glyptothek*, Munich 1910, p. 321; Walters, P., *Ill. Katalog*, Munich 1912, p. 53, Pl. 62.

<sup>131</sup> Hekler, A., *Bildniskunst*, Pl. 213; *Porträtwerk*, Pl. 711, 712.

<sup>132</sup> Smith, C., in *Burl. Mag.* XI, 1907, p. 39; Walters, *The art of the Romans*, London 1911, p. 122, Pl. 52; *Brit. Mus. Cat., Engraved gems and cameos*, London 1926, p. 369, No. 3946, cf. p. 338, No. 3593; Strong, E., *Scultura Romana* II, Florence 1926, p. 368, Fig. 219.

<sup>133</sup> Valentinelli, *Marmi del Museo Archeologico della Marciana*, Prato 1866, p. 231, No. 264; *Africa Italiana*, II, 1928, Figs. 4, 7, 8, 10; cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, No. 39, 40, p. 189.

<sup>134</sup> Mendel, G., *Catalogue des sculp. grecques etc., Mus. imp. Ottomans Const.*, p. 281; cf. Hepding, H., in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 501, Pl. XXVI.

<sup>135</sup> Benndorff-Schöne, *Ant. Bildwerke des Lat. Mus.*, Leipzig 1867, p. 127; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ik.*, II, 1, p. 366, Pl. XIX.

<sup>136</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.

<sup>137</sup> Rohden, v.-Dessau, *Prosopographia imperii romani*, III, Berlin 1893, p. 443; Anti, in *Africa Italiana*, 1928, p. 12.

deified by Caligula, who brought her remains back to Rome. These portraits represent an idealized portrait in the likeness of Agrippina, but without a strict resemblance. The former group is represented by the Agrippina head from Cyrene<sup>138</sup> and the latter is characterized by the Capitolino type. Anti's hypothesis is very suggestive and seems to clear up many of the Agrippina problems. The great popularity of Agrippina, especially in the east, promoted by Germanicus' triumphal journey to Syria and Egypt, may well have survived her last tragic years on the island Pandataria. When Caligula, in 37 A. D., brought the urn with her ashes back to Rome, and made her *Diva Agrippina*, it is but natural that the interest in her was renewed.

The Soli head, if the identification is correct, was probably made during this period in connexion with her deification; as has already been pointed out, the head was found under circumstances confirming that it belonged to the Isis temple. This suggestion is confirmed also by the fracture on the skull which, as far as can be seen, is a portion of some high head-dress, probably an Isis crown. Agrippina was identified with Isis in Soli. This connexion between Agrippina and Isis may not be an accidental one. Caligula's great interest in the worship of Isis is well known. Besides, there is a striking parallel between the tragic life of Agrippina and the myth of Isis, who, haunted by powers of darkness mourns over her dead husband and fights for the revival and glory of her son.<sup>139</sup> The expression of the face seems me to correspond to that of Isis or Demeter. On their way to Syria, Agrippina and Germanicus ought to have passed Cyprus and perhaps also when they left Syria and landed in the westernmost branch of the Nile, the Canopus.<sup>140</sup> In any case the rumour of this triumphal journey must have reached Cyprus. Probably also Agrippina passed Cyprus on her way back from Syria after the murder of Germanicus and, like St. Barnabas and St. Mark 33 years later, she may have embarked in Soli or Limne on the west coast of the island, though no records of this part of the journey are preserved.

Technically the head is extremely interesting as it displays many differences from all the Agrippina heads originating in the western parts of the empire. And these peculiar traits seem to me as definite characteristics of east Roman sculpture which are noted in these parts of the empire much earlier than in Italy. The eyelids are stiff, almost angular, the upper lid is prolonged down over the lower lid in a way which reminds one of the Egyptian method of sculpturing the eye. The same technique is noted on most of the Roman sculptures found in the shaft of the rotunda in Kom-esh-Shogafa in Alexandria.<sup>141</sup> In these sculptures the same peculiar, angular, and stiff features are noted as on the Soli Agrippina. To a certain degree the same holds good of the Cyrene head,<sup>142</sup> but the traits are never found in the same way on Italian and western specimens. In the west, this peculiar treatment of the eyes does not appear before the period of Severus.

Another feature, the method of sculpturing the curls of the hair, can also definitely be

<sup>138</sup> Anti, *op. cit.*, Pls. I—III.

<sup>139</sup> Westholm, *Ett porträtt av Agrippina d. ä.*, in *Konsth. Tidskr.*, Stockholm 1932, p. 11.

<sup>140</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 60.

<sup>141</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Pls. XLV, XLVI, XLIX—I.II.

<sup>142</sup> *Africa Italiana*, II, 1928, Pls. I—III.

determined as an eastern and specially Alexandrine trait, which much later became popular and common. On all the western heads with the characteristic Agrippina coiffure, the hair is sculptured very realistically even if the various curls are painstakingly placed in order. The spiral curls were made almost in the same way as spiral curls of certain coiffures of our day, but there is no sign of conventionalizing. Often the irregularities are noted and every one of the spirals has a character of its own. Sometimes the spirals are replaced by large waves above the temples though without alteration of the general character of the coiffure. In the Soli head, on the contrary, the conventionalizing is carried very far. All the spiral curls are here sculptured separately from each other, like rows of small sea shells and none of these spherical curls is connected with the next one. The centre is marked by a small depression made with a drill. This is a treatment which would not be expected on monuments of western origin during this period. In Alexandria the same method of sculpturing the curls becomes common from the Constantine period onwards, but can rarely be traced previously.<sup>143</sup> In later Coptic figure sculpture and in Byzantine art the same kind of conventionalizing is met with on many monuments. How strange the sculptured curls appeared to the Italian and western artists is indicated in the Christian marble sarcophagi on which they are extremely rare, while they are very typical of eastern sculptures of the same period, e. g. the Constantia sarcophagus. The putti of this sarcophagus are conventionalized in quite another manner than putti on Italian sarcophagi, both of 3rd and 4th Centuries. The development of the stylization begins in the east, in Alexandria certainly under the influence of the local Egyptian sculpture, as early as the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. During the first and second centuries A. D., the stylizing is clearly expressed and defined; and during the subsequent period it becomes the most prominent characteristic of all eastern art. On account of the clear stylizing tendencies distinguishable on the Agrippina portrait from Soli, it can definitely be classified as originating in the east. And, furthermore, the head, stylistically, is a very early example of the new artistic aims which would be more developed in the future styles of the east. There is not sufficient material for a closer determination of the origin of the head. It may be Cypriote though the early Roman marble sculptures are too rare for a detailed analysis of their specific Cypriote characteristics. In any case Cyprus was under foreign, most likely Alexandrine, influence as regards the marble glyptic, and as stylistic details of the Soli head have been recognized also on Alexandrine sculptures of the same and later periods, there may be sufficient reasons to suggest an Alexandrine school for its origin.

The local Cypriote style, the beginning of which we have seen in the sculptures of Style II B is not represented during the two first centuries A. D. The sculptures of Style III,

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Westholm, *Stylistical features of Coptic figure sculpture*, in *Acta Arch.*, V, Copenhagen 1935, p. 231; Sjöqvist-Westholm, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Helena und Constantia-sarkophagen*, in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, Lund 1934, p. 37. Exactly the same difference between western and eastern sculptures is noted as regards the coin pictures of the Claudian period. The western coins show the hair with realistically sculptured curls (Bernoulli, *Röm. Ik.*, II, 1, Pl. XXXIII) whereas the pictures of the eastern coins are characterized by the spherical curls (Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, London 1899, Pl. XXI, 7). The same is noted also in the following periods. Antonine coins of the east are characterized by the same spherical curls, which never occur on western coin pictures, cf. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Greek coins of Cyprus*, Pl. XVII, 1—3.

connected with Temple E in Soli, display many features which must be the result of an influence from the official Roman sculpture of the Severus epoch, as we know it from the monuments in Leptis Magna and Rome. A comparison between the sculpture of Severus' triumphal arches in these cities, shows clearly that the artistic centre is no longer situated in Rome, but in North Africa<sup>144</sup>. The wonderful sculpture decoration of the Leptis arch constitutes in reality the best sculpture work preserved from that period. The Severus era, means a great artistic achievement all over the east of the Roman Empire. In Cyrene this, and the previous epoch are marked by some rather remarkable sculptures<sup>145</sup>; in Alexandria the main street of the city seems to have been decorated with new sculptures, as the majority of those found along the street date from this period<sup>146</sup>. In Cyprus, the Severus epoch is remarkable in various ways. The rebuilding of the large Paphos temple has already been mentioned as very probable. In Soli the theatre was rebuilt during the same epoch and there are reasons also to attribute engineering works in Cyprus to this period<sup>147</sup>. Temple E was certainly not constructed during the epoch of Severus but, as we have seen, somewhat later, we find that the official Severus style has influenced the provincial artists working in Style III. Also in Alexandria similar kind of sculptures are met with, but here they display less provincial features. The same character, however, is unmistakeable.

The style may have penetrated from the west along the provinces of North Africa and the provincial character of some of the later sculptures from the sanctuary of the Alexandrine goddess in Cyrene show a striking similarity with the specimens in Alexandria and Cyprus. Take the Mithras head<sup>148</sup> and compare it with the Dioscurius head from Soli (No. 334, Pl. XIX, 4, 5). We note the same rounded oval face, the pointed elliptical, stiff eyes, the whole face being surrounded by heavy masses of hair. The head from Cyrene is dated by Ghislanzoni to the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Another head representing Dioscurius may be assigned to the previous stage of the development. This is dated by Oliviero<sup>149</sup> to the second century. The drill punctures in the curls seem not to be represented in Cyrene in the same way as in Soli. This, however, is noted in some of the Alexandrine sculptures. A female head with Julia Domna coiffure, is provided with exactly the same punctures as the Soli heads<sup>150</sup> and in a relief in the Alexandrine museum, found at Canopus<sup>151</sup>, the same technique is noted (Pl. XXXII, 6, 7). Other heads from Canopus show a similar type of the head, but the puncture technique is not used in the same extension.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Bartoccini, R., *L'arco quadrifonte dei Severi a Leptis*, in *Africa Italiana*, IV, 1931, p. 33—152.

<sup>145</sup> *Africa Italiana*, II, 1929, p. 141; *Notitiario* IV, 1927, p. 164.

<sup>146</sup> Adriani, A., *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano*, I, Alexandria 1934.

<sup>147</sup> Thus the large water-conduit from Kythrea to Salamis most likely was constructed during this epoch. It can be traced straight across the island almost the whole way from its beginning in the mountains. Here just below the ancient city of Kythrea the large bronze statue of the emperor was found under conditions which indicate that it probably was raised in connexion with the construction of the water-conduit, *Jahrbuch* 1934, p. 102.

<sup>148</sup> Ghislanzoni, in *Notitiario Arch.* IV, 1927, p. 164, Fig. 7.

<sup>149</sup> Oliviero, G., in *Africa Italiana*, 1930, p. 162.

<sup>150</sup> *Musée Graeco-Romain*, Cat. No. 3470.

<sup>151</sup> Breccia, *Monuments* I, 1926, Pl. XXX, 5, p. 62; Cat. No. 18489.

<sup>152</sup> Breccia, *Monuments* I, 1926, p. 62, Pl. XXIX, 5; Cat. No. 18573; cf. also the Attic head in black marble, *Bull. Soc. Arch.*, XVII, p. 191.



Serapis is naturally very often represented in the Alexandrine art and as to the Serapis sculptures actually found in Alexandria various types can be distinguished. Roughly, the various stages of the development of the Alexandrine Serapis type can be distinguished as follows: 1. The early Hellenistic type is characterized by the wonderful head, No. 3463, mentioned above.<sup>153</sup> Evidently influenced by the same style are some of the minor heads in the Alexandrine museum. The Zeus Otricoli type may possibly go back on the Alexandrine Serapis of this period, which certainly originates from the famous statue of Bryaxis in the Serapeum. 2. Most of the busts which are ascribed to the next group of Serapis sculptures may be of early Roman date. These are characterized by a comparatively short, but plastically accentuated, beard which projects mostly from the underside of the chin, in mighty, rounded curls. As a rule, the curls are not separated by very deep grooves and curls of the hair are never sculptured free on the underside. The beard resembles that on Farnese Heracles, though it is shorter. The modelling of the faces is usually realistic though the mighty expression which characterizes the previous group is never found. No stylizing tendencies are, as a rule, noticeable.

3. These, however, are most significant for the next group, especially in the treatment of hair and beard. Right and left sides of the heads are strictly symmetrical. The curls are usually sculptured as a separate detail unconnected with each other and with deep grooves between them. Usually the curls of the beard are ended with a small spiral at the centre of which is a deep puncture hole made with the drill. The front-curls of the hair and sometimes also the curls on the temples are much undercut, so that only the tips of curls are attached to the forehead.<sup>154</sup> As to the treatment of the face, a certain dry or flat expression is noted, which constitutes a peculiar contrast to the style of hair and beard. The lines are hard and dead and the conventionalizing tendencies undeniable.

There can be no doubt that the Serapis head, No. 318, (Pls. XVIII and XIX, 6) from Soli, is related to this third group of Serapis heads in Alexandria. The official Roman style has only been translated into the local Cypriote language. The large head from Soli shows a very crude technique. The surface has not been smoothed like that of the Dioscurius heads, Nos. 334 and 338 (Pls. XIX, 4, 5 and XX, 5).

The sculpture of the serpent, No. 335 (Pl. XX, 7, 10) must definitely be referred to the Alexandrine sphere of culture where similar representations are very common. The snake sculptures in Alexandria, however, are always made as reliefs<sup>155</sup>. The most famous sculptures of serpents in Alexandria, are those in Kom-esh-Shogafa<sup>156</sup> where they are sculptured in relief on either side of the entrance into the funerary chapel. The serpents are bearded and wear the double crown. The bodies are coiled in a similar way as No. 335, holding the *caduceus* and the *thyrsus*.

<sup>153</sup> Breccia, *Alexandrea*, Fig. 95.

<sup>154</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 1 B, Pls. XXIX—XXXI; Adriani, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV. Cf. Amelung, *Le Sérapis de Briaxis*, in *Revue Arch.* Ser. IV, p. 177.

<sup>155</sup> In the Alexandrine museum there are some very interesting stelae with snakes represented in relief in a manner very similar to No. 335, Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1931—32*, frontispiece; *Alexandrea*, Fig. 75, representing two mitred agathodaimons, facing each other, the one representing Serapis, the other Isis.

<sup>156</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Pls. XXI, XXII.

We proceed to the sculptures of Style IV. It must be said that these sculptures have puzzled the author very much. The remarkable statue of the god Canopus, in Soli, found almost intact on the altar of one of the *cellae* in Temple E, admittedly has some analogies as well in Alexandria as in the Vatican, but in spite of a minute search of parallels the female statue, No. 319 (Pls. XXI and XXII) still stands out as a strange and bizarre monument among the late Roman sculpture. Another statue of the same kind does not really seem to exist, and we are therefore forced to regard the various details of the sculpture separately. Evidently the lady wears a kind of a cult dress, which fairly well corresponds to the "Olympic *stola*" which Lucius had to wear when he was received into the Isis mysteries<sup>157</sup>. This remarkable *stola* consisted of a long tunic, reaching to the feet: all round, the *stola* was decorated with coloured representations of "various animals, Indian dragons and hyperborean griffins, with wings like the birds and which belonged to the other world". Of course, the statue from Soli does not wear a dress in every detail corresponding to the one mentioned, but the quotations of griffins and other various animals is interesting as they are found on the petticoat of the Soli lady. Iconographically the scenes are all of Egyptian origin as has been ascertained previously (p. 101), and also the whole arrangement with figurative representations in panels separated by ornamental borders, should probably be interpreted as taken from the arrangement on Egyptian mummy-coffins. These are often decorated in a similar way with painted rectangular scenes worked into a pattern with ornamental borders. Often a vertical border runs down the middle, dividing the body into two parts with scenes corresponding to each other, on either side.<sup>158</sup> For the Egyptian origin of the motives on the petticoat, which most likely were intended to suggest embroideries on the dress, the *en creux* technique seems to give a support, though the same technique occasionally is met with during earlier Cypriote periods. But then, as a rule, it is possible to trace the Egyptian origin on iconographical and stylistical grounds.<sup>159</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that the relief decorations and their composition on the petticoat are not without predecessors in Cypriote sculpture. On Cypro-Achaic terracotta sculptures<sup>160</sup> the cuirass is indicated by means of paintings or impressed relief-work in a similar way, and on some occasions the borders show almost exactly the same patterns. The Egyptian mummy-coffins may in both cases be the final source of inspiration, though it must be supposed that the painted terracottas of the Achaic period imitate real relief-work on the cuirasses. The mummy-coffins may also have influenced the decorations of the petticoat of certain representations of Artemis Ephesia which in this respect show similarities with the Soli statue.<sup>161</sup> As regards the various patterns of the borders, some of the details point towards the future, Coptic styles. The geometrical ornament is highly

<sup>157</sup> Apulejus, *Metamorph.*, XI, 21 ff.

<sup>158</sup> Budge, W., *A guide to the Egyptian Rooms of the British Museum*, London 1924, Pls. IV and VI.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. the composition of the Geryon relief in the Cesnola Coll., Myres, J., *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll.*, New York 1914, p. 234, No. 1368.

<sup>160</sup> From Salamis, J. H. S. XII, 1891, Pl. X, p. 150; cf. Walters, in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, London 1903, p. 17, Nos. A. 107—119, and Kazaphani, *Cyprus department of antiquities, Report 2*, Nicosia 1935, p. 7, Pl. II, 3, 4.

<sup>161</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire*, 3, p. 98, 1—3, 7.

developed in the Coptic art, and as regards the frame-work patterns we are able, in many cases, to trace their origin back to decoration of Egyptian mummy-coffins.<sup>162</sup>

The lady from Soli wears over the hips a kind of cuirass which is decorated with griffins in relief. The shape of the cuirass shows many peculiarities which are rare or even unique. While other cuirasses usually end with a rounded edge at the bottom over the abdomen, this cuirass has an arched edge. Besides it is not extended over the breast as on the Roman cuirass.<sup>163</sup> All the Greek and Roman cuirasses are made to protect the whole abdomen and not only the hips. The cuirass on the Soli statue terminates with a broad belt around the waist which is decorated with large rhombic and square stones, and below the cuirass, the ends of the vertical scales hang down as on the Roman cuirasses. The griffins are also of a common type known from numerous Roman statues. The details, are thus of Roman origin, whereas the shape of the cuirass is never met with among the Roman monuments. How should this be explained? Possibly the cuirass, like the scenes on the petticoat, can be compared to the Egyptian sphere of motives. It must be admitted that exact copies, or analogies of the Soli cuirass are not to be found among the Egyptian monuments, but so far the arrangement is the same as the Egyptian kilt, which hangs from a belt around the waist, and that the kilt is rather open in front whereas the sides of the thighs are protected by the hanging flaps. Possibly the strange piece of cuirass, which, as we must not forget, belongs to a cult-dress, constitutes an attempt to translate the Egyptian kilt to Graeco-Roman form; to make, as far as possible, a Roman cuirass of it. This is nothing but a mere suggestion, but it seems to have some support in the wonderful reliefs in the central tomb at Kom-esh-Shogafa.<sup>164</sup> The strange mixture of Roman and Egyptian elements displayed in this monument indicate that it is a good subject for comparison with the Soli statue. The two guardians on either side of the entrance both wear the typical Roman cuirass, composed of a solid plate on the abdomen and scales hanging down over the hips.<sup>165</sup> The whole attitude of these figures bears strong marks of Graeco-Roman influence though the figures represent Egyptian deities and have preserved the Egyptian nature. On the front

<sup>162</sup> Among the impressive material of painted mummy coffins we may confine ourselves at those dating from the later periods and which therefore may represent the immediate fore-runners of the ornaments on the statue. The painted coffins of the Roman epoch offer a very interesting material for comparisons. Edgar, M., *Cat. Gén. d. Ant. Ég. du Musée du Caire, Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, Cairo 1905; Guimet, E., *Les portraits d'Antinoé au Musée Guimet*; Schmidt, V., *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten*, Copenhagen 1919. The meander of the central, vertical border is frequently used on Egyptian monuments. Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pl. I; Guimet, *op. cit.*, Pls. III, XLVI, 72. The vertical borders on the sides are most likely explained as very much conventionalized leaves as they are found especially as reliefs on lead coffins, Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI; Müfid, A., in *Jahrbuch*, 47, 1932, p. 387 ff. Similar kinds of ornaments are also frequently found painted on coffins, Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pls. IV, V; Guimet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIX, 66; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1462, 1463. The uppermost horizontal border may be compared with the way in which the ribbons were wound around the bodies of the mummies, Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1433—1434. The floral vine of the middle border as well as on the cuirass is a very common motive in Alexandrine decoration. It occurs frequently already on many of the so called Hadra vases of the 3rd Cent. B. C., and is later on repeated very often, Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pl. II. — The ornamental borders on the petticoat are also found in later Egyptian ornament. The Coptic ornamental sculpture offers a large comparative material. Cf. Strzygowski, J., *Koptische Kunst*, Vienna 1904; Duthuit, G., *La sculpture copte, etc.*, Paris 1931; Breccia, E., *Le musée Gréco-Romain 1931—1932*, Bergamo 1933, Pls. XXIX—XXXVIII.

<sup>163</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire*, 1, p. 181, 599; 2, 2, p. 584—587.

<sup>164</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I.

<sup>165</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Pl. XXV.

wall of the central niche an embalming scene is represented. On either side of the mummified Osiris, and Anubis, Thoth and Horus are represented.<sup>166</sup> Thoth wears a kind of armour with scale-like plates suspended from below the arms to the hips. In construction it seems to correspond to the scale-armour of the Soli statue. The Egyptian kilt of both the flanking figures is very short and if we turn to the central relief of the left niche, we find that the man with the double royal crown wears similar armour and a very short kilt which is marked by various lines, so that one could interpret it as a short cuirass with scales hanging down as on the Roman cuirasses and on the Soli statue.<sup>167</sup> Supposing a local Cypriote sculptor tried to copy some of the Egyptian monuments of this kind and not had sufficient knowledge of the meaning of the various details, it would not be unlikely that the result would turn out as on the Soli sculpture. He misinterpreted the Egyptian kilt as a cuirass, made a cuirass of a shape as similar as possible and added the griffins to it in the ordinary Roman fashion. Similar misinterpretations of Egyptian iconographical details are very numerous in Cypriote art. Thus the scarabs, found in Cyprus are of well known Egyptian shapes, but the hieroglyphs or signs on the underside are, as a rule, absolutely meaningless.<sup>168</sup> We will meet on the following pages another example of the same kind: the scenes in the lower register on the belly of the Canopus, No. 329, (Pl. XXIII, 1, 2, 4) are copied from an Egyptian model, but the sculptor has not understood the meaning of the scenes, so that, in effect they are only indicated as meaningless projections on the body.

The belt around the waist of the Soli lady is interesting as it offers a fairly good fixed point for the chronology of the statue. Similar belts are found on various sculptures dating from about 300 A. D. Thus this belt is characteristic of some of the porphyry sculptures of that period e. g. the emperors on St. Mark in Venice<sup>169</sup> and on some fragmentary marble sculptures in Constantinople.<sup>170</sup> As L'Orange has pointed out, this type of belt would not possibly occur before the Constantine period. — We proceed with the examination of the dress. The armour, as we have seen, was not unknown in the Egyptian iconography, but it is not met with in the same peculiar shape as in Soli. The rounded cape which hangs over the shoulders of the Soli lady displays a great resemblance with the *aegis* of Athena in the Graeco-Roman iconography and no doubt we may explain its formal origin in that way. The *aegis* of Athena corresponds only too well with the rest of a warrior's attributes, characteristic of this statue. There remains, finally, the head-dress. As to this detail, again, we lack really good analogies among the monuments preserved. Some of the Coptic sculptures are provided with a similar cap with bands hanging down in front.<sup>171</sup>

Summing up the results of the detailed examination of this strange statue, we find that it represents a very queer mixture of elements borrowed partly from the old Egyptian styles, partly from Roman sculpture. The attitude of the statue must be explained as more

<sup>166</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Pl. XXVII.

<sup>167</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, I, Pl. XXXIII.

<sup>168</sup> *Sved. Cyp. Exp.*, II, p. 831.

<sup>169</sup> L'Orange, H., *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo 1933, Pl. 32.

<sup>170</sup> Peirce-Tylor, *L'art Byzantin*, I, Paris 1932, Pl. 6.

<sup>171</sup> Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, Pl. L, No. 8686. Strzygowski, J., *Koptische Kunst*, Vienna 1904 p. 20, No. 7276.

or less Roman. The details and the ornamental arrangement of the petticoat are borrowed from local Egyptian prototypes, whereas the ornamentation of the cuirass has been taken from the Roman cuirasses. Stylistically the ornamental borders between them points towards the future, Coptic styles of Egypt, the forerunners of which also can be demonstrated elsewhere in Cyprus.<sup>172</sup> The Coptic art thus has some roots in the art connected with the mystery religions of late antiquity, and it is but natural to search for them within the area of Ptolemaic Egypt and Cyprus, which were for such a long time, as we have seen, portions of one and the same artistic region.

We proceed to the remarkable statue of Canopus, No. 329 (Pl. XXIII, 1, 2, 4). As there are only few representations of this god known, it can easily be placed in the series. The best preserved specimens are those in the Museo Albani and the Vatican.<sup>173</sup> Thanks to Weber's repeated investigations on this subject, a further explanation of the nature of this god is not needed here.<sup>174</sup> Osiris in the shape of the Nile-water is represented as a jar like the well known canopies found so often in Egyptian tombs. As to the relation between the god Canopus and these canopic jars, reference is given to the works of Weber. Here we have to consider the artistic type of the Soli specimen and in what way it is related to the other known sculptures. In comparison with the specimen in the Vatican, the Soli Canopus is very large, in fact the largest sculpture of the god known. The Vatican Canopi display a very fine technique of pure Egyptian style. The proportions differ. The Soli Canopus has a comparatively large base and small head. The wig of the Soli Canopus falls down more like two thick ringlets on either side of the breast than the ordinary Egyptian wig. The Osiris crown on the head is disproportionately low, possibly because of the difficulty in forming the hard limestone to a more usual height.<sup>175</sup> On the Vatican Canopus we find an expression of the face which corresponds entirely to the specific Egyptian estimation of religious art. To this the small round face with a curly goatee on the Soli statue makes a marked contrast. The expression of the whole sculpture is in reality not Egyptian, though all the iconographic details are copied from Egyptian monuments. As regards the reliefs on the belly, we have already pointed out that they were misunderstood by the Cypriote sculptor. The snake in the middle may be explained as an *agathodaimon* and the birds at the sides as representations of *Ba*, the soul, but the lower reliefs do not represent anything at all. It has never been finished in detail. If the artist intended to finish the reliefs his knowledge of Egyptian mythology was too faint for a proper performance of the scenes. In Alexandria, some terracotta figurines representing Canopus have been found<sup>176</sup> and others are made in plaster but they are all of too small dimensions for detailed comparisons. It may be pointed out, however, that some of them are represented standing on a high base or altar. In the small miniature sanctuary from Ibrahimieh, Canopus has

<sup>172</sup> Westholm, in *Acta Arch.*, V, 1935, p. 225, Fig. 6.

<sup>173</sup> Weber, W., *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 29.

<sup>174</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*; *Die Ägypt.-Griech. Terrakotten*, in Königl. Museum zu Berlin, Berlin 1914, p. 19—25; cf. *Sieglin Exp.* II, 2, Pls. I—II.

<sup>175</sup> Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen*, Pl. 1, which also has the characteristic low crown.

<sup>176</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 2, Pls. I, 3, II.



a place beside other deities, Harpocrates, Priapus, Eros, Heracles, etc.<sup>177</sup> This is almost a position similar to which the Canopus had in Soli, where, as has been described above, the sculpture was found almost *in situ* on the altar in one of the *cellae* of Temple E.

The bearded face or mask finally, which is ascribed to this group, No. 448 (Pl. XXIII, 5) shows a very rude technique. It must represent a local style which hardly can have any connexion with foreign sculptures. It finds, however, some parallels in the bearded heads which are characteristic of a certain kind of portable stoves. Fragments of such stoves are found in great quantity in Alexandria but also in many other places in the Roman empire.<sup>178</sup>

On the above pages, we have followed a local series of sculptures which, as far as can be ascertained, is characteristic of the Cypriote development of sculpture art during the Ptolemaic and Cypro-Roman epochs. It has been possible to show how the sculptures of the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical tradition are replaced suddenly by sculptures of an entirely different style. The change is very marked and indicates a quite new orientation of the Cypriote sculpture art. Towards 300 B. C., Cyprus was incorporated in Ptolemaic Egypt and the sculptures from Soli show that this incorporation was not only restricted to political conditions but that it also effected the artistic life of the island. As the Ptolemaic sculptures, in the beginning, are under the strong influence of Greece, it is natural to find the same in Cyprus. Bryaxis and his activity in the Alexandrine Serapeum may be mentioned as the most brilliant representative of these Greek artists. This is one of the roots of the Ptolemaic art. The other is the national Egyptian art which, during the whole of the Ptolemaic period, dominated the Nile valley, while the Greek style was restricted mainly to Alexandria, and perhaps other centres in the delta, influenced by Greek spirit. Greek art thus, never became characteristic of Egypt, but only of the royal workshops around the court of Alexandria. This development of the sculptured art tallies well with what we know of the social and political conditions in Alexandria. The Greek elements were strictly separated from the native inhabitants of the city in accordance with the intentions of Soter and Philadelphus.<sup>179</sup> As the national Egyptian style never had been rooted in Cyprus, it is but natural to find that, during the early Ptolemaic period, only the Greek art of the capital played any role for the Cypriote sculpture. This was an art which it was possible for the Cypriotes to understand, and the break of the isolation under the Persian rule certainly caused a powerful reaction to the artistic life. There are many traces indicating that the artists during the whole of this period had longed for a closer cultural relation with Greece. The imported marbles were copied in the local Cypriote limestone, and this resulted in a style which is very closely related to the limestone sculpture of Alexandria. This close contact can be followed throughout the third century B. C. The various stages of the development

<sup>177</sup> Breccia, *La nécropole de l'Ibrahimieh*, in Bull. Soc. Archéol. IX., p. 35.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Sieglin *Exp.*, II, 3, p. 152, with many references of literature.

<sup>179</sup> Rostovtzeff, M., in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1928, VII, p. 144 ff., Schubart, W., *Die Griechen in Ägypten*, Leipzig 1927.

in Alexandria are faintly but clearly enough reflected in Cyprus. When the Pergamene school begins to influence the Alexandrine sculpture, we find the same phenomenon in Cyprus, and the results of this process are very much alike in Alexandria and Cyprus. The Pergamene effect can, however, hardly be studied in the material from Soli; this phase has therefore not been examined in this volume.

In Alexandria the dissolving tendencies in the development of the Greek art is already noted about 200 B. C., with the reign of Epiphanes. From now onwards the previous strict isolation of the Greek elements among the population of the city is also broken, and during the following periods we are able to follow the gradual mixture of the Greek and the Egyptian styles, a process which is going on during the whole of the late Ptolemaic epoch and the Roman periods. This friction between the two absolutely different styles should finally result in the destruction of both. The sculpture monument of Kom-esh-Shogafa shows how already in the second century A. D. the Greek elements were absorbed by the Egyptian spirit and how the latter are paramount in all the reliefs. Greek art, as a matter of fact played but a short and splendid role during the earlier Ptolemies, when all the large public buildings of Greek style were constructed in Alexandria. But it seems slowly to have been suffocated by the overwhelming national Egyptian style, certainly with help of the powerful development of the Egyptian religion in the Roman empire.

In this development Cyprus, of course, must go its own ways as the presumptions here are quite different from Egypt. In Cyprus there were no Egyptian elements to mix the Greek style with. Cyprus therefore could not follow the Egyptian development. When the hybrid style towards the end of the Ptolemaic period gradually developed and at the same time the Greek source of inspiration ceased, the Cypriote artists were confined to the local Cypriote tradition of sculpture with features, which as we have seen, are characteristic of our Style II B. The same process in other countries with previous Greek-Hellenistic influence constitutes good parallels to the development in Cyprus. The universal Hellenistic style was slowly going to be more or less replaced by a great number of various local sculpture schools. As the imperial, official style, however, the Hellenism lived at the side of the new phenomena which were more connected with the mystery religions of the lower classes of the population. As a unique representative of the official Roman art with Hellenistic traditions among the Soli material we may point out the Agrippina portrait which, however, to a certain degree also is influenced by the stylizing tendencies of the Egyptian hybrid style.

The further development of the local Cypriote style during the Roman epoch is characterized by the sculptures of Style III. Here the local features are still paramount but we trace the influence from the main centres in North Africa and Rome. Certainly the Cypriote sculptures from the Roman periods could be connected with the sculpture of eastern Asia Minor if this was known. From the Roman province Cilicia, to which Cyprus belonged, we possess practically no comparative material of sculpture. Now we are confined to what is preserved of Roman sculptures from the centres in Egypt and North Africa. The best parallels are, again, met with in Alexandria, which shows that the contact between Cyprus

and this city is not broken, in spite of the two belonging politically to different colonies. This explains, furthermore, the conditions in Soli during the Constantine period, exemplified by the sculptures of Style IV. Here, the Egyptian traits are again very paramount both iconographically and technically. Evidently the sculpture of Egypt is now making a new development, very much marked by conventionalism. The sculptures of porphyry, by their material located to an Egyptian work-shop tradition, offer good parallels to the sculptures of Style IV. The porphyry art, being entirely controlled by the emperor himself<sup>180</sup>, certainly represents what has been left of the Hellenistic tradition. Here the mixture of the Hellenistic realism and the Egyptian conventionalism has resulted in a new hybrid style which carries over to the Christian, Coptic sculpture of Egypt. If we examine the monuments of inferior importance from the same period we note how far the national Egyptian style is predominant.<sup>181</sup> The same monuments are, too, in many respects related to the Cypriote sculpture. But what in Egypt was built up on a sculptural tradition during thousands of years, to the Egyptian artists meant quite another thing than to the Cypriotes. In Cyprus, the Egyptian iconography was never understood entirely. The details were misinterpreted, the representations of the high Egyptian gods were made in Cyprus more or less like caricatures of the Egyptian prototypes. Unfortunately the lack of comparative material from the next periods prevents us from following the development. It can not thus be ascertained whether this state subsequently was altered or not. Besides, the transition between the Constantine epoch and the early Coptic periods still remains obscure even as regards Egypt. We recognize in monuments from the former many traits characteristic of the latter, but the gradual development is as difficult to follow as is the exact dating of the monuments after the Constantine period.

#### POTTERY AND TERRACOTTA LAMPS

It is a remarkable fact that, in spite of extensive excavations in almost every part of the Hellenistic world no history of Hellenistic pottery has been written. Among the material which has been brought to light, as a rule, only the most remarkable vases have been published. These fancier vessels are often but faintly significant for the general outline of the pottery of the site. The material of Hellenistic pottery, the majority of which still remains unpublished or which is published without sufficient references to chronologically fixed points, is at present so large that an exhaustive examination of the whole should take many years of work. Even if the various wares can be distinguished fairly well, the lack of closely dated material makes every attempt of classification more or less without the necessary solid foundation.

The question of Hellenistic and Roman pottery in Cyprus still must be regarded as a *terra incognita*. Nobody has tried to make any kind of classification, and the terminology proposed here therefore should be regarded as nothing but a contribution to the final

<sup>180</sup> Delbrueck, R., *Antike Porphyrtwerke*, 1932, p. 25 ff.

<sup>181</sup> Like the sculptures from the Pnephros-temple of Fajum, Breccia, *Monuments*, I, 1926, Pl. LXVII, 2, 3.

solution of the problem. Until further it may only be adopted on the material from Soli. The terminology is made so that it easily can be used as the foundation for a more detailed determination of the pottery, if it will prove to be useful in the future. Before we can point to an amount of sealed tomb-groups representing a continuous chronological series, all speculations as to the chronology of the wares and their relation to each other must be loosely founded. Concerning Cyprus, very few tomb-groups from the Hellenistic and Roman epochs have been published scientifically. In this respect the 3rd Cent. pottery has recently been elucidated by a few tombs at Kountoura Trachonia excavated by Sjöqvist<sup>1</sup>. Fourteen intact tombs were examined here, of which thirteen contained pottery. All the tombs, according to coins among the burial gifts dated from the 3rd Cent. Most of the pottery consisted of plain and coarse wares. The shapes of the vases showed clearly that they constituted a further development of the Cypro-Classic I—II pottery as we know this from the tombs of Marion (cf. below) and Vouni<sup>2</sup>. Some of the tombs of Marion, too, contained Hellenistic burials and sealed groups of pottery<sup>3</sup>. Among these tomb-groups none is dated by coins but they can safely be placed to about the same period as the tombs of Kountoura Trachonia, or to the 3rd Cent. B. C. Of the Marion tombs chiefly three groups are important for the chronology as they contained a larger amount of vases, Tombs 9, (*op. cit.* Pl. XXXVIII, 2) 60 (*op. cit.*, Pl. LXVII, 1), and 61 (*op. cit.*, Pl. LXVII, 2). Certainly all these must be ascribed to a rather early part of the 3rd Cent. The Hellenistic groups of the Amathus tombs<sup>4</sup> were all very poor and of less importance for the chronology. To this may be added a tomb in Ajii Omoloiitades near Nicosia, examined by Miss du Plat Taylor<sup>5</sup>. The contents of this large tomb could be divided in two groups, one being of about the same date as the tombs of Kountoura Trachonia or slightly later, the second possibly belonging to the beginning of the 2nd Cent. This is not much as a foundation for the chronology of the vast Hellenistic pottery material from Cyprus. Fortunately the tradition from the earlier Cypro-Classical pottery is clearly distinguished as regards the plain and coarse vases and fortunately the Kountoura Trachonia tombs are safely dated by the coins. As regards the relation between the Soli pottery and these tomb-groups it can be said that almost every shape of Plain White and Coarse Wares, noted in the tomb-groups mentioned, is found in the earlier strata of Soli. But the shapes of the plain and coarse wares are often the same through long periods and it may be advisable not to base the chronology upon them in spite of their great majority. The Black Lustrous I Ware is more or less a variety of the Black Glazed Ware of the Cypro-Classic period, which may be an immediate progenitor. The somewhat dull lustre characteristic of the Black Lustrous II Ware is found on some of the vases from Kountoura Trachonia (Tomb 10, Nos. 10, 33, 34). This tomb is dated to the second half of the 3rd Cent. B. C. by not less than eight coins the latest of which belongs to the period of Seleucus II. The same ware is represented in Tomb 12 which also contained coins, the

<sup>1</sup> Sjöqvist, E., in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, I, 1934, p. 439, Pls. LXXIII—LXXV, CXL, CXLI.

<sup>2</sup> Westholm, *Tombs of Vouni*, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, III (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> Gjerstad, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, 1935, p. 455.

<sup>4</sup> Westholm, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> du Plat Taylor, J., in *Cyprus department of antiquities*, Report No. 2, Nicosia 1934, p. 13, Pl. V.

only decipherable of which belonged to the period of Ptolemy Philadelphus. As the shapes of the Kountoura Trachonia pottery in many cases proved to be the same as those described as characteristic of the Black Lustrous II pottery it may be ascertained that this pottery in Soli can be dated to the second half of the 3rd Cent. Most likely the dull lustre developed during the 3rd Cent. As usual concerning Cypriote pottery, it is easier to determine the beginning of a new technique than the time when it no more was in use. We possess no real fixed points for a determination of this question as regards Cyprus. While the Black Glazed Ware of the Cypro-Classic period, and the Black Lustrous I Ware certainly were imported and comparatively rare, the Black Lustrous II Ware is extremely common in Cyprus. Possibly there existed some local fabric at the side of the imported pottery. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the matter. Unfortunately it is impossible to produce statistic figures of the relation between the Black Lustrous I and II Wares in Cyprus. The suggestion that the Black Lustrous II Ware is by far in majority is based more on the author's experience from a great many sites in the island than on the facts given by the figures of several stratigraphical excavations. The stratigraphical diagram on p. 145 shows the conditions in Soli but here, it must be remembered, the Black Lustrous I Ware probably represents a period which mainly lies prior to the time in which the temples were in use.

The Mat Black Ware is most likely a local imitation of the Black Lustrous II Ware. These wares must have been used side by side already in the 3rd Cent. Because in the tombs at Kountoura Trachonia the Mat Black Ware is represented in the same tombs as the Black Lustrous Wares. (Tomb 2, Nos. 11 and 27; Tomb 10, No. 35.) The shapes of these vases are easily recognized also among the sherds found in Soli. We may thus draw the conclusions that the Mat Black Ware, as regards the Cypriote material, though typologically later, existed contemporarily with the Black Lustrous II Ware and that the beginning of the Mat Black Ware must be placed as early as in the 3rd Cent. B. C. As the diagram on p. 145 indicates, the Mat Black Ware continues through all the layers which would represent a period of more than 500 years. Certainly it would be possible to distinguish the various stages within this development. But the lack of sealed tomb-groups from Cyprus prohibits this distinction. Here comparisons with shapes of other wares only can show the development.

If we trace the origin of the new features which characterize the Hellenistic pottery in Cyprus in comparison with the earlier pottery we should go to Alexandria. The conditions are rather similar to what we have demonstrated concerning the sculptures. The Cypro-Classic pottery is characterized by an increasing percent of undecorated ware, which may be explained as a kind of degeneration of the whole art. The majority of the Cypro-Classic pottery from the Marion tombs is undecorated and if we go to the Vouni tombs, somewhat later in date, this development is still better recognized. The Cypro-Classic II tombs of Vouni are characterized by a great majority of undecorated ware. But in both cases the imported Black Glazed Ware occurs beside the Cypriote plain wares. The Black Glazed Ware seems, however, to be located chiefly to the region of Marion with its close connexion with Attica. The Hellenistic wares, however, as far as can be seen are equally spread all over the



island. Certainly this is caused by the incorporation of the whole island in the Ptolemaic Egypt. As a matter of fact we find the best analogies to the Cypriote vases of Black Lustrous I—II among the Alexandrine pottery. The Alexandrine material, too, offers the best fixed points for the chronology as many of the vases there actually are dated by inscriptions. The so called Hadra-vases constitute some of the most characteristic types of Alexandrine pottery. It must be regretted that the sealed tomb-groups from the necropoleis at Shatby<sup>6</sup>, Ibrahimieh<sup>7</sup>, Hadra<sup>8</sup> etc. not have been strictly separated. But on the other hand they seem not to represent a very long period. As the contents of the tombs are very much alike in all these necropoleis one is allowed to ascribe them all to roughly the 3rd Cent. B. C. and slightly later. Most of the Hadra-vases, too, can be dated to the first half of the 3rd Cent. B. C. As regards the Black Lustrous I—II Wares we recognize the small bowl of the same type as No. 574 as one of most characteristic shapes among the Alexandrine 3rd Cent. pottery<sup>9</sup>. Other varieties of similar bowls have horizontal ears<sup>10</sup>.

The jugs, too, have many parallels in Soli and Alexandria. Types as Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Pl. L, 85, 87, 88 are frequently recognized among the Soli sherds especially from the filling of the lower courtyard of Temples A and B. The layers here, evidently, were very much mixed. The somewhat elevated foot on the small amphoriskoi so characteristic of Hellenistic pottery<sup>11</sup> is, however, not represented in Soli though it is known from other parts of Cyprus. These few selected examples of the most characteristic types are only mentioned in order to show the great similarity between types and shapes of Cyprus and Alexandria. Common for both places are certain shapes and types whereas the great variety of forms which characterizes contemporary Greece cannot be demonstrated. A complete examination of the whole material from Cyprus should multiply these examples. But this cannot be done before the collection of Hellenistic pottery in the Cyprus Museum has been published. Cyprus and Alexandrine Egypt, in this early Hellenistic period should be treated more or less as an unit, and we here recognize a development parallel to the sculptural.

The Black Glazed Wares and their further development in the Hellenistic time certainly originate in Greece and there, too, we are able to study the origin of the wares as well as their developments into the Roman period. The excavations at Kerameikos<sup>12</sup> and the recent excavations in the Athenian Agora<sup>13</sup> have offered the most important material in this respect.

The question of the date of the earliest red ware may be settled by the future excavations at

<sup>6</sup> Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo 1930.

<sup>7</sup> Breccia, *La nécropole de l'Ibrahimieh*, Bull. Soc. Archéol., 9, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Pachenstecher, in *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 3, p. 32 ff; Breccia, *Alexandria*, p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> Pachenstecher, in *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 3, Fig. 158, 2, which seems to be of Black Lustrous I Ware; and Fig. 159, 18, this seems to be a red variety corresponding to the Red Lustrous II Ware, though the shape not is represented in this ware in Soli.

<sup>10</sup> Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Pl. LVI, 119, 121, 122. These bowls are evidently a direct development of the Attic skyphos which also is frequently found in Shatby, *op. cit.*, Pl. LVI, 120, LVII, 127.

<sup>11</sup> *Sieglin Exp.*, II, 3, Fig. 158, 8; Breccia, *op. cit.*, Pl. L, 84, 86.

<sup>12</sup> *Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos III*, Oxé, *Terra sigillata aus dem Kerameikos*, in Ath. Mitt. 52, 1927, p. 213; *op. cit.*, V, Kübler, K., *Spätantike Stempelkeramik*, in Ath. Mitt. 56, 1931, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Waage, F., *The Roman and Byzantine pottery*, in Hesperia, Cambr. Mass. 1933, p. 279; Thompson, H., *Two centuries of Hellenistic pottery*, in Hesperia 1934, p. 312; Talcott, L., *Attic Black-Glazed Ware*, etc., in Hesperia 1935, p. 477.

Agora. As far as the material up to now indicates, the red wares should probably not be placed earlier than the 1st century B. C. Most of the Agora fragments of the Pergamene Ware are ascribed to the period between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. In Kerameikos the conditions are similar and there seems not to be reason for a suggestion that the Pergamene Ware should be earlier than the 1st century B. C.<sup>14</sup> This tallies with the conditions in Soli. The Red Lustrous I Ware which corresponds to the Pergamene Ware, comes in the layers just prior to the constructions of Period 2, which, as we have seen should not have begun earlier than the second half of the 1st century B. C. Most of the fragments, however, are found in layers of Period 2 and they also correspond to the shapes of the 1st century A. D., as we know them from Athens and Asia Minor. The Olbia material offers no good parallels to the Red Lustrous I Ware from Soli. The shapes of Red Lustrous II seem, however, to correspond to the *Gattung D* in Olbia which Knipowitsch dates to the first half of the 1st century A. D.<sup>15</sup> We recognize the same kind of bowls, as *op. cit.*, Fig. 8,3 and Pl. II, 19 a, 27, and 28. On the other hand the shapes typical of *Gattung E* are entirely absent in the material from Soli. This seems to represent a somewhat later epoch than Period 2 in Soli. Pots of this kind were found in Tomb 18 in Amathus together with an Antonine coin<sup>16</sup>.

The Monochrome Red Ware seems to be the same as the Late Roman A Ware in Waage's classification of the Agora material<sup>17</sup>. Profils like *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, 116, 117, 139 are common. The Soli sherds show rather monotonous shapes but other forms of vases, more or less like *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, 120, 123, and 125 are found in the collection of Cyprus Museum. It is interesting that the date of the Soli sherds fairly well can be fixed to about the same epoch as in Athens. The Monochrome Ware is entirely connected with Periods 3 and 4 in Soli (cf. the diagram on p. 145) which, as we have seen, correspond to the second half of the third century to the end of the Constantine period. In the Agora one pot was found in a stratum of burning over coins of Galienus and Salomina<sup>18</sup>. The absence of stamped Christian symbols on the ware makes Waage draw the conclusion that the ware was not in use long after 300 A. D. In Soli there are no Christian symbols and also the decorations in applied relief are absent. The pottery of Waage's groups B<sup>19</sup>, C<sup>20</sup>, and D<sup>21</sup> is not represented in Soli which may indicate that it mainly should be placed later than the Constantine time. Because one should expect to find the Ware B, which seems to be connected with Egypt, especially in Cyprus with its close relations to that country.

As regards the terracotta lamps Broneer's classification of the lamps from Corinth has been followed (p. 136 ff.). The lamps of Type 1 are not known from Greece. In

<sup>14</sup> Miss K. Kenyon has kindly informed me in a letter that the recent excavations in Palestine have not changed this view as regards the red wares.

<sup>15</sup> Knipowitsch, T., *Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia*, p. 29 ff. in *Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik*, IV, 1914.

<sup>16</sup> Westholm, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, p. 108.

<sup>17</sup> Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

<sup>18</sup> Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 294, 302.

<sup>19</sup> Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>20</sup> Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

<sup>21</sup> Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

Cyprus they represent the final products of a very long series the beginning of which can be traced up in prehistoric times. They are represented in all the Iron Age periods and constitute one of the most common types of burial gifts of the Iron Age tombs. In the beginning of the series, the shape is rather raised with somewhat vague outlines<sup>22</sup>. In the Cypro-Archaic I period the type has changed. The wick-holder is still high but the rest of the lamp is comparatively low<sup>23</sup>. This development is continued in the very shallow sometimes almost like a disc. The edges display often a metallic character with sharp mouldings; the wick-holder is deeply pinched, and flattened. This type is characteristic of the lamps from the Vouni tombs of the Cypro-Classic II period<sup>24</sup>, and of the Marion tombs of the same period<sup>25</sup>. This type is still preserved in the tombs of Kountoura Trachonia<sup>26</sup>. Typologically the Soli lamps must be placed after the lamps from Kountoura Trachonia. This Hellenistic type is of minor size. The raised base is the rule and more than half of the edge is pinched to the nozzle. The end of the series thus shows features characteristic of the beginning, i. e. the raised shape. In Cyprus there are no specimens known which represent the further continuation of the pinched lamps. Apparently this type was replaced by the typical Hellenistic and Roman lamps. The pinched lamps are spread over a vast area. Possibly the type originates in Syria. The pinched lamps are very common in the whole of North Africa and especially in Carthago. It seems reasonable to combine them with the Phoenicians. In North Africa the pinched lamps have survived up to the present. In Alexandria the type can be traced in the Hellenistic time and has there about the same development as in Cyprus. Pinched lamps were found in the Shatby tombs together with Hellenistic pottery of the 3rd Cent<sup>27</sup>. The type occurs also represented in Coptic Egypt and shows there a form which later on was developed by the Arabs<sup>28</sup>.

Lamps of Type 2 are known from Greece but usually they are provided with some kind of glaze. No. 349 seems to be a hybrid form with traits of Broneer's Types VII and X. The low base connects it with the earlier Type VII, which is dated as early as to the end of the 5th Cent. to the beginning of 4th Cent. B. C. while Broneer's Type X is considered to belong to the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd Cent B. C.<sup>29</sup>. The Cypriote specimen may be a local imitation of imported lamps of the types mentioned. Lamps of Broneer's Types VII—X are rather common in Cyprus, where they seem to date from the 3rd Cent.<sup>30</sup>.

The Soli lamps of Type 3 approach the previous type very much. They are similar to Broneer's Types IX—X, dating from late 3rd Cent. or the beginning of the 2nd Cent. B. C.<sup>31</sup> No. 575 is certainly of a Cypriote fabric and seems to be hand-made. It is unglazed. The

<sup>22</sup> Sjöqvist, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, I, p. 533, No. 171, Pl. CXLIX, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Sjöqvist, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, p. 146, Pl. CLVII, 2, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Westholm, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, III (forthcoming).

<sup>25</sup> Gjerstad, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, p. 449, Pl. CLVII.

<sup>26</sup> Sjöqvist, in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, I, Pl. CXLIX, 15, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Pl. LVII, 128, 129.

<sup>28</sup> Kaufmann, K., *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, Leipzig 1915, Pl. 73.

<sup>29</sup> Broneer, *Terracotta lamps*, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, Pl. CLVII, 8—10.

<sup>31</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

prototypes are common in the island. Reference has already been given to the lamps from Tomb 2 in Amathus<sup>32</sup>.

The lamps of Type 4 constitute the earliest lamp of the Roman, moulded technique. It corresponds to Broneer's Type XXII which he ascribes to the 1st Cent. A. D. In Corinth they belong to the period from the beginning of Tiberius' reign and the middle of the century. In certain localities similar lamps were continued to be made during the second and third centuries<sup>33</sup>.

The following types are all of very common Roman moulds. Type 5 represents the first half of the 1st Cent. A. D.<sup>34</sup> while Type 6, corresponding to Broneer's Types XXIV—XXV seems to be characteristic of the whole of the same century. Type 7 is almost exactly the same as Broneer's Type XXVII<sup>35</sup>. This constitutes the transition to the late Roman lamps which are more or less impossible to date closely. Lamps of Type 8 should be compared with Broneer's Type XXVIII, which is ascribed to the period from the middle of the 3rd Cent. to the beginning of the 5th<sup>36</sup>.

There is a technical characteristic of all these late lamps which is noticeable: the mouldings are very faint and vague in the contours, as if the moulds were much worn. Possibly this lack of definition in the modelling is caused by the use of plaster moulds as was noted as regards the material from Gözlu Kule in Tarsus<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp., loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>34</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, Fig. 34, 15—16; Fig. 112, Pl. XI, 556.

<sup>36</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>37</sup> Goldman, H., *Preliminary expedition to Cilicia, 1934, and excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus, 1935*, in A. J. A. 1935, p. 530.

# A P P E N D I X

Dr. Nils Zenzén, of Naturhistoriska Riksmuseets mineralogiska avdelning, Stockholm, has kindly examined some of the materials used for the sculptures. In a letter to me, he has given the results of these examinations.

According to Dr. Zenzén, the piece of MARBLE which he examined, belongs to a marble which seems to derive from a series of chrystalline schists, the calcite grains, as a rule, showing repeated twinning. It appears impossible to determine whence it comes but most likely from the Greek islands.

The piece of ALABASTER has the charcter of the so called Egyptian alabaster, the "*alabastritis*" of Antiquity, which is no alabaster in the modern sense as it is not constituted of gypsum but of calcite (without twinning). Dr. R. Blix has determined its specific gravity to 2.74. According to Dr. Zenzén, this kind of alabaster was probably not found outside Egypt.

The rock which has been called SOFT LIMESTONE above, is a marl which, according to Dr. Blix contains 15.5 % clay. With the naked eye one cannot see any fossils but on a slide, the microscope reveals the rock being built up of foraminifera. According to Dr. F. Brotzen, the rock should be called a globigerina-marl and after a preliminary determination he estimates its age to be Upper Cretaceous or Eocene.

The rock called HARD LIMESTONE is a porous limestone, very rich in fossils. According to Dr. N. Hj. Odhner, those visible to the naked eye are various kinds of molluscs. In thin sections there also appear foraminifera and bryozoa. Dr. Brotzen has preliminarily determined the age of the rock to late Tertiary or younger. In any case, it is of considerably younger date than the globigerina-marl (our soft limestone). These two kinds of limestone, consequently, belong to quite different parts of the geological sequence and, therefore most likely, originate from different localities.

A. W.



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3



425

*Soli. Marble sculpture, Style I A.*

1



2



3



532

4



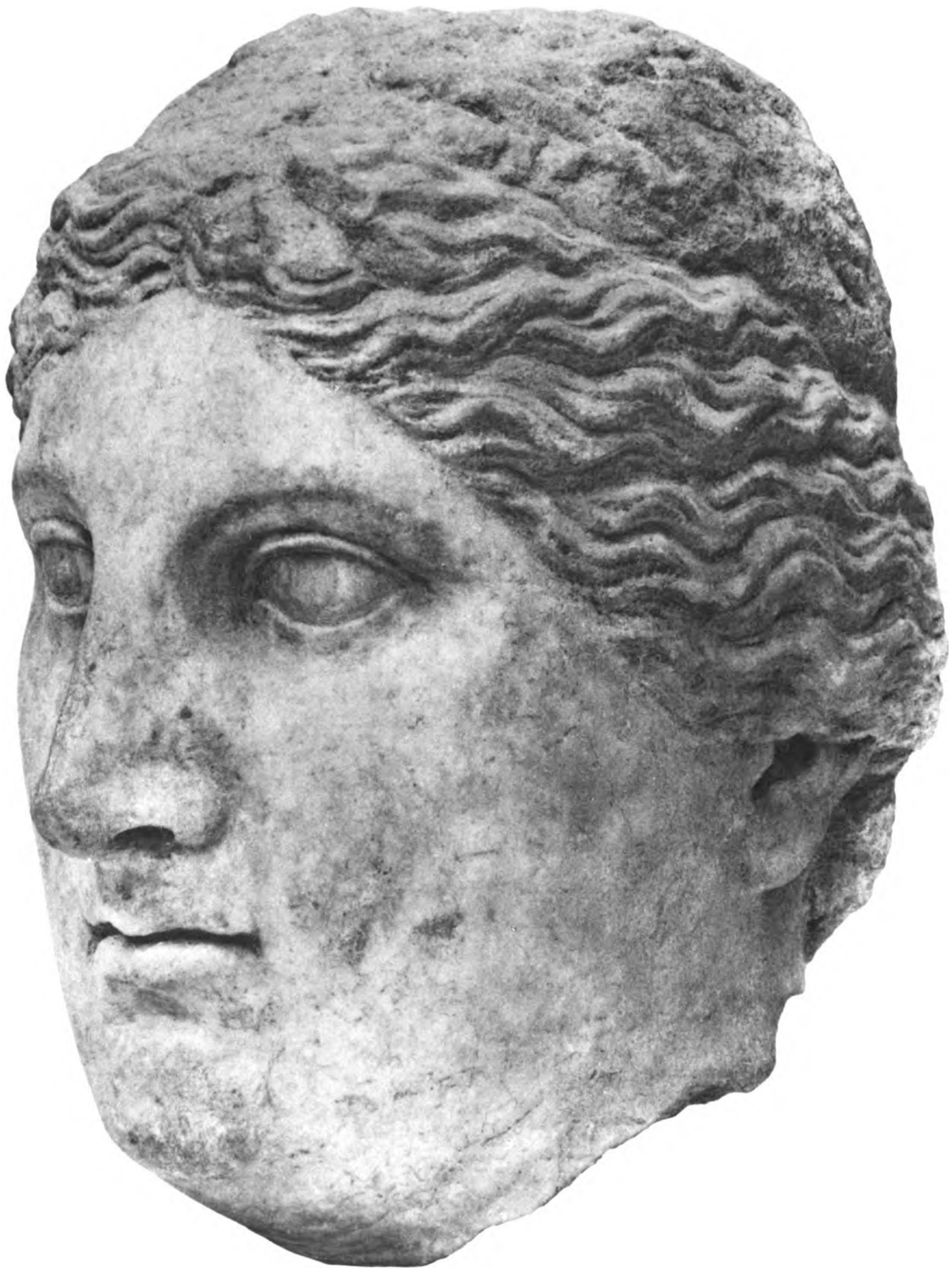
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457

447

*Soli. Marble sculptures. Style I A.*



438

*Soli. Marble sculpture. Style 1 B.*



2



3



438

*Soli. Marble sculpture, Style I B.*

1



2



3



416 + 463

4



415

6



7



437

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464

5



461

*Soli. Marble sculptures, Style I B.*

1



2



3



466

5



4



6



497

497

*Soli. Marble sculptures, Style I B.*



1



511

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414

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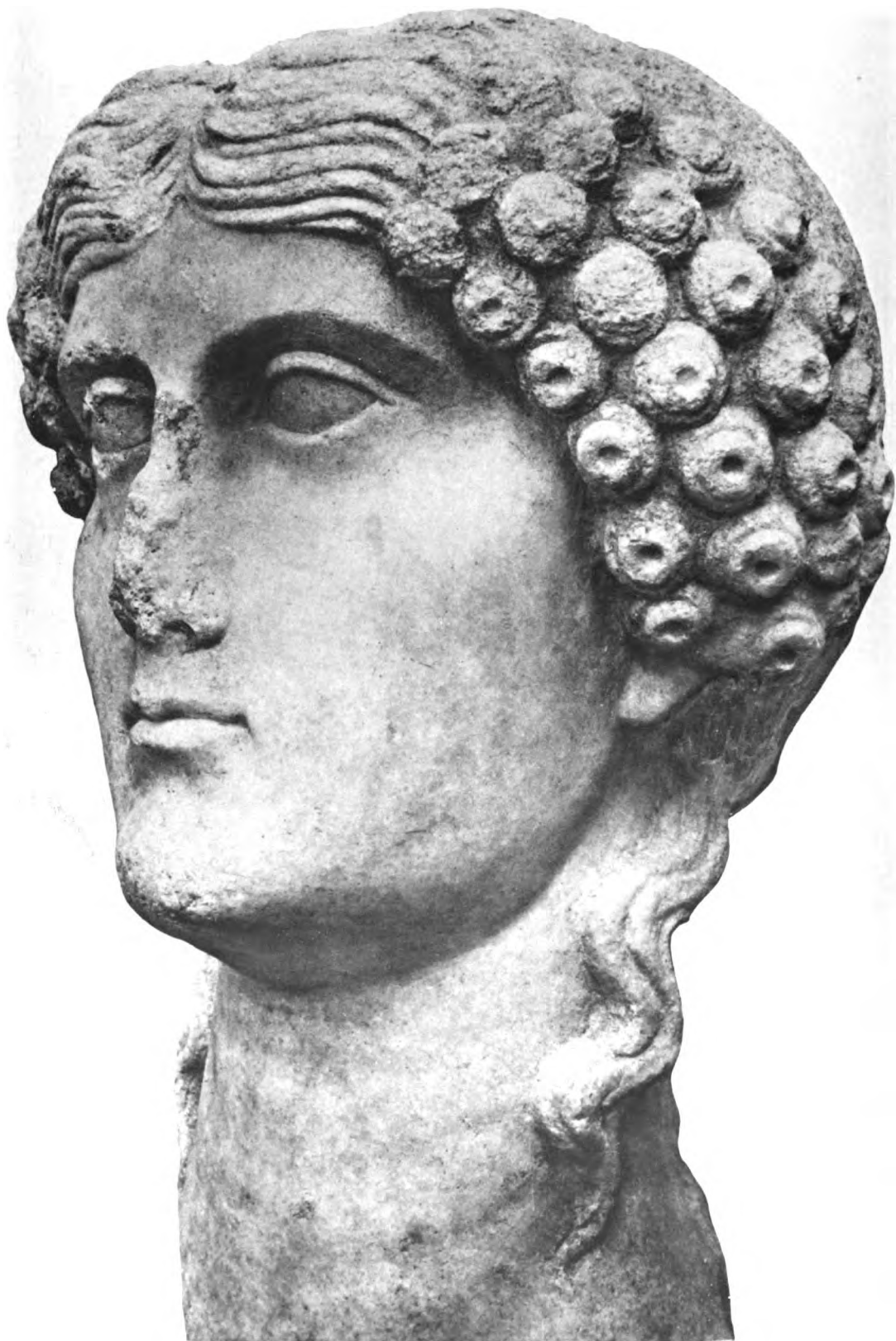


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414

*Soli. Marble sculpture, Style I B (1); Portrait of Agrippina, Marble (2—4).*



414

*Soli. Portrait of Agrippina, Marble.*

1



2



3



314

419

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443

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446

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419

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336

*Soli. Sculptures of soft limestone.*

1



518

2



507

3



508

4



519

5



535

*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style I A.*

1



2



502

3



533

5



536

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533

*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style I A.*



1



339

2



3



340

4



5



6



418



410 - 411

*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style I B.*



1



2



3



439

4



5



6



522

517

*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style I B.*

1



2



520

3



521

4



530

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*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style I B.*

1



2



328

*Soli. Sculpture of hard limestone, Style II A.*

3



317

4



5



427

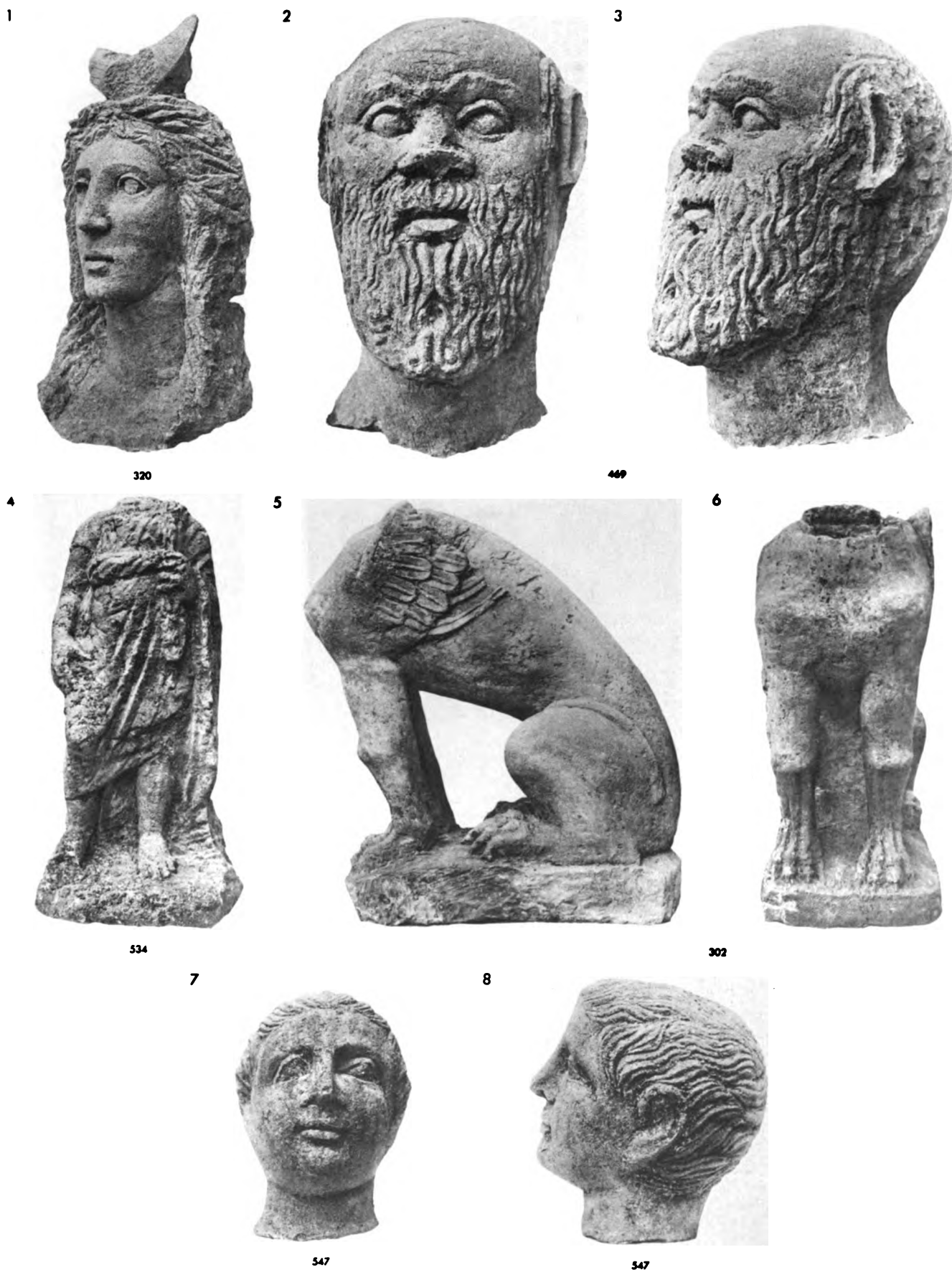
*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style II B.*



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*Soli. Sculpture of hard limestone, Style II B.*





*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style II B.*



318

*Soli. Sculpture of hard limestone, Style III.*



1



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3



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4



5



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*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style III.*

1



312

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Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style III.



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*Soli. Sculpture of hard limestone, Style IV.*

1



2



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*Soli. Sculpture of hard limestone, Style IV.*

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342

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5



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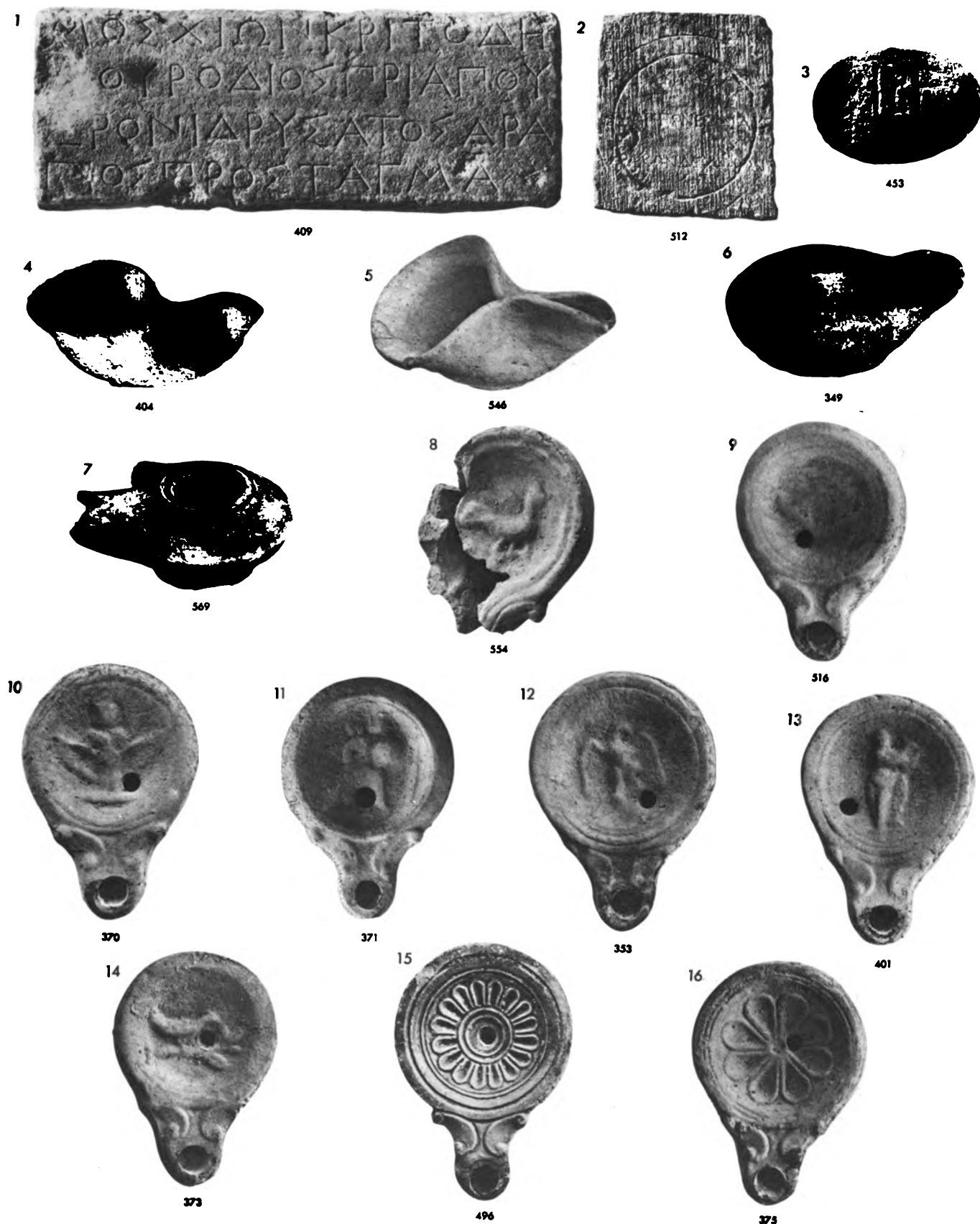
*Soli. Sculptures of hard limestone, Style IV.*





*Soli. Marble sculptures (1—5); Terracotta sculptures (6—13); Marble lamp (14);  
Marble inscriptions (15—16).*

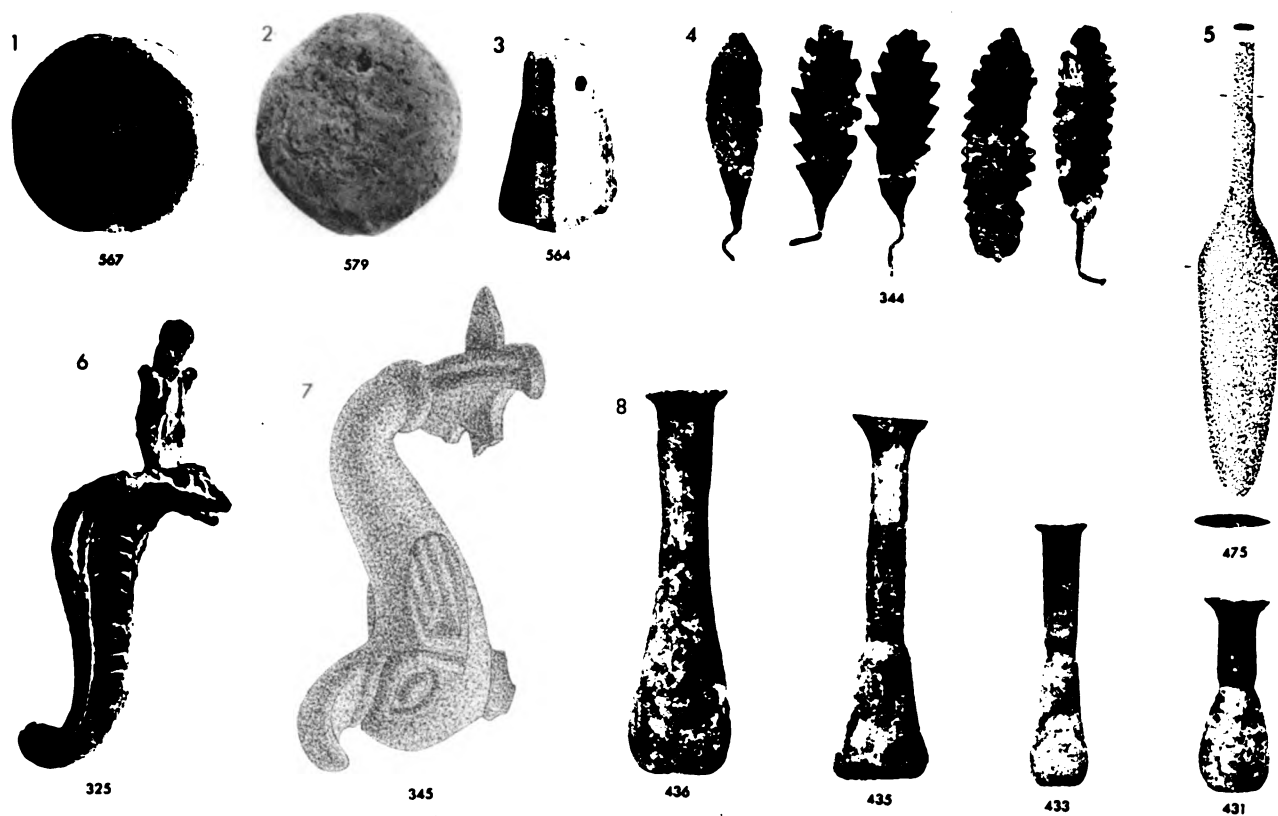




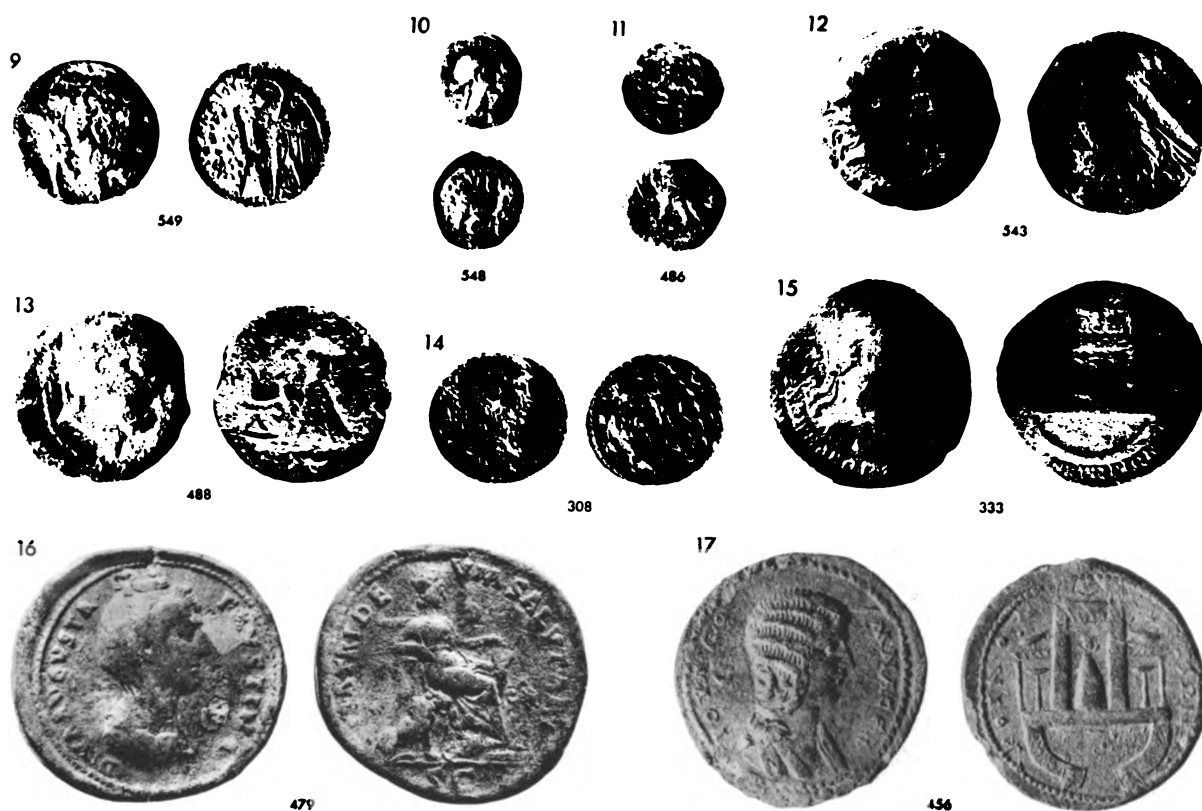
*Soli.* Inscriptions of marble and stone (1—3); Terracotta lamps, Type 1 (4—5), Type 2 (6), Type 3 (7), Type 4 (8), Type 5 (9—16).



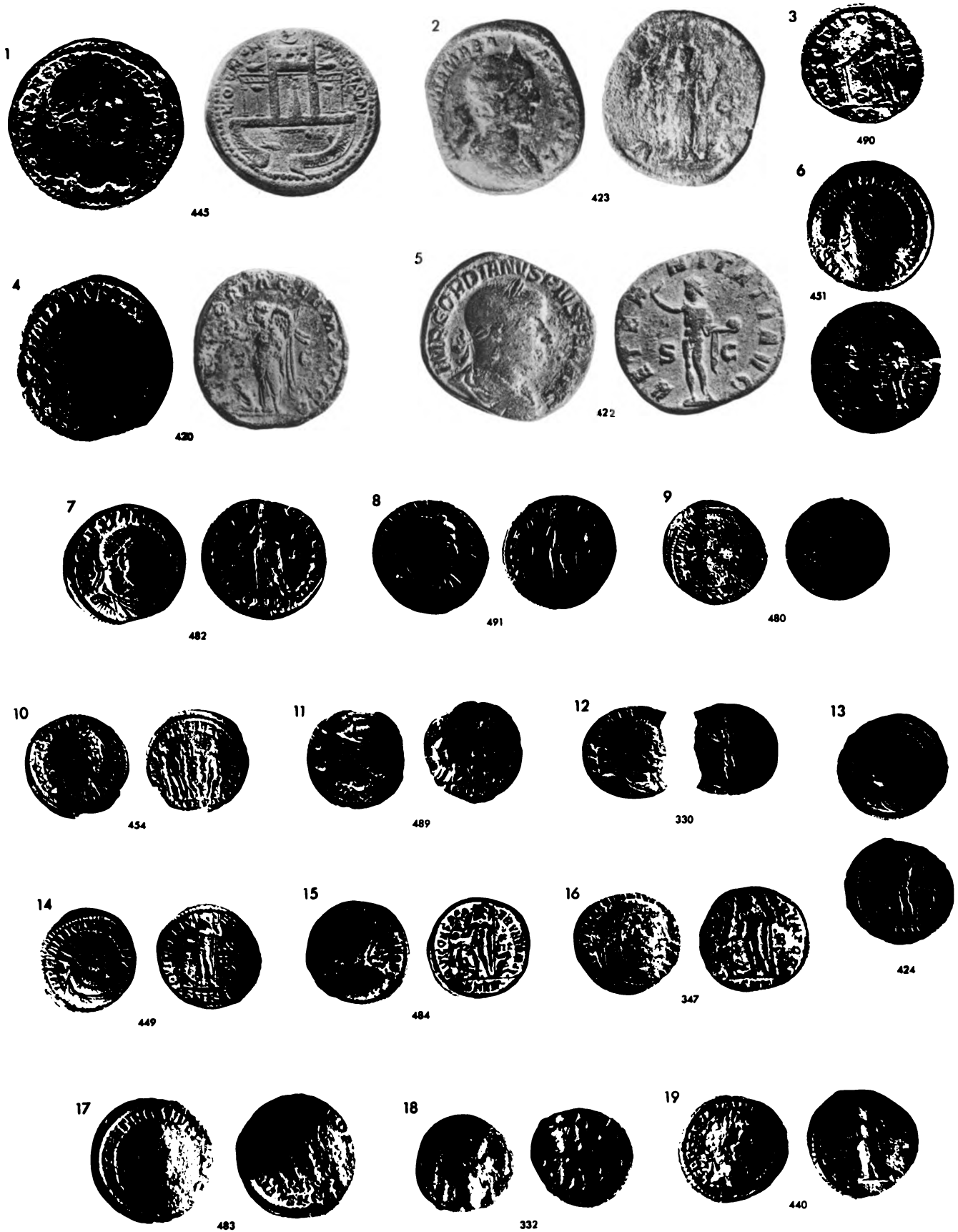
*Soli. Terracotta lamps, Type 6 (1-2), Type 7 (3), Type 8 (4-8), Type 9 (9-10).*



*Soli. Objects of terracotta, bronze, and glass.*



*Soli. Bronze coins.*



*Soli. Bronze coins (1—18); Silver coin (19).*



*Black Lustrous I Ware.*



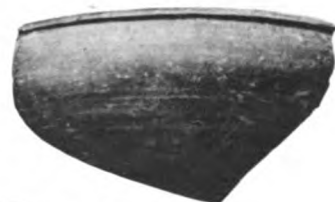
574



*Black Lustrous II Ware.*



*Red Lustrous I Ware.*



*Red Lustrous II Ware.*

*Soli. Pottery sherds.*





*Mat Red Ware.*

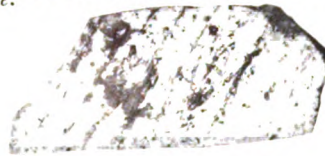


*Black Polished I Ware.*



*Black Polished II Ware.*

*Monochrome Red Ware.*



*White Painted Ware.*

*White Slip Grooved Ware.*

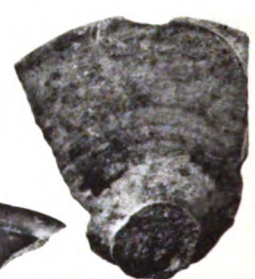


*Grooved Ware.*



*Plain Ware.*

*Soli. Pottery sherds.*



*Coarse Ware.*



1



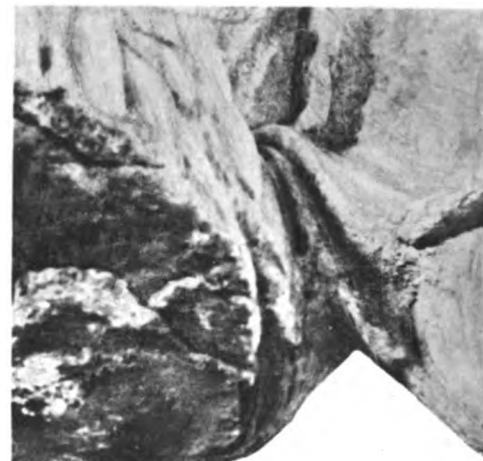
2



3



4



7

8

5



6



301

Cyprus Museum. Sculptures found at Soli; Marble (1—7), Hard limestone (8).

1



2



3



304

Marble sculptures found at Soli. Church of Galini (1—2); Cyprus Museum (3).

4

5

6



7



Sculptures of limestone. Cyprus Museum (4—5); Museum of Alexandria (6—7).











PRICE: ONE GUINEA, NET.











